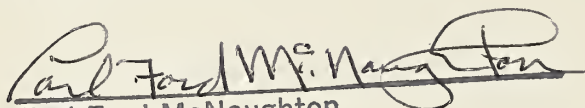
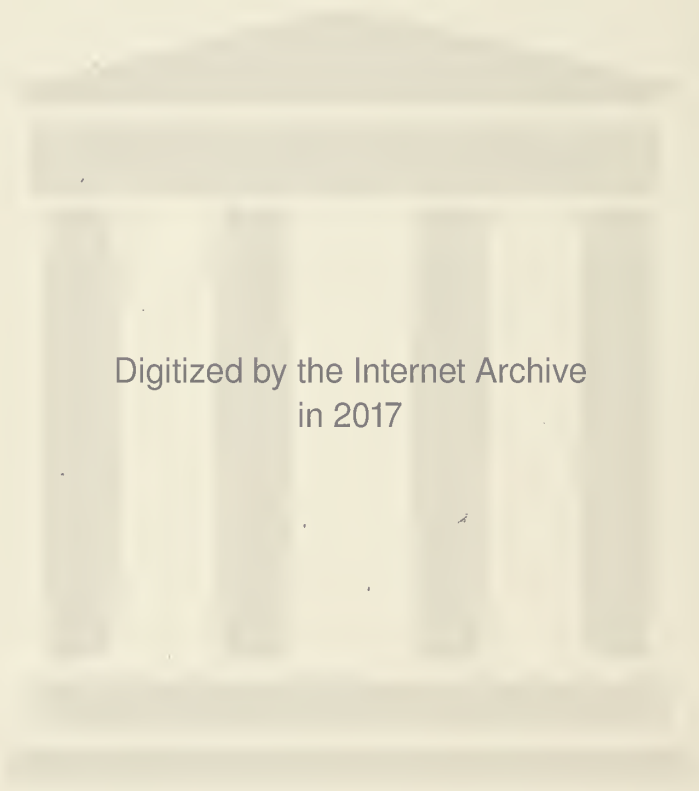


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THE SANDUSKY COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS

Volume XXIII



COLUMBUS:

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BY

FRED J. HEER

1914

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OHIO

Archaeological and Historical PUBLICATIONS.

THE CENTENNIAL OF CROGHAN'S VICTORY.

BY LUCY ELLIOT KEELER.

The historic and picturesque little city of Fremont, Ohio, celebrated on the second of August, the centenary of Croghan's Victory, the one successful land battle on American soil of the War of 1812. Fort Stephenson, on the banks of Sandusky River, at the village then known as Lower Sandusky, was gar-



Major George Croghan.

risoned by Major George Croghan, a youth of twenty-one, with a hundred and sixty men and a single cannon. General Proctor, with eight hundred British Regulars, sailed up the Sandusky river, on boats of Commodore Barclay's fleet, and joined by two thousand Indians under Tecumseh for two days besieged the fort. Against this vastly superior force, Croghan, having "decided to maintain this place and by Heaven we can!" won, with but the loss of a single man, the victory,

which proved the turning point in the War of 1812. For this exploit he was breveted Lieutenant-Colonel by the President of the United States; Congress awarded him a medal of honor, one of nine; and to his officers six swords of the fifteen ever so given. "The defense of Fort Stephenson," said General Sherman in 1885, "by Croghan and his gallant little band, was the necessary precursor to Perry's Victory on the Lake and General Harrison's triumphant victory at the Battle of the Thames."

A coincidence of history is that Croghan's Victory, which in 1813 so materially affected the real independence of the United States, occurred on August 2d, the day in 1776 on which the Declaration of Independence was signed. No more curious error exists in the popular conception of American History than that the Declaration was signed on the 4th of July. Independence was declared, as all the world knows, bells rung and bon-fires lighted on the 4th; and within a few days thereafter a few copies of the Declaration, signed by the president and secretary of the Congress were published. Not until August 2d, however, was the Declaration, engrossed on parchment, signed by fifty-three members of Congress then present. Subsequently the other three affixed their signature, completing the fifty-six signers of our great document.

For many years the city of Fremont had anticipated as an anniversary to celebrate the centennial of Croghan's Victory, and the fulfilment of this plan was a worthy culmination of a series of events in the years between. The first celebration of the day may be called anticipatory. On the 4th of July preceding the battle of Fort Stephenson, Col. Richard M. Johnson, "the man who killed Tecumseh," who was here with his mounted regiment of Kentucky volunteers, joined with the garrison at the fort to celebrate Independence day "with harmony and enthusiasm. * * * Colonel Johnson delivered an address, toasts were drunk, cheered by the shouts of the men and the firing of small arms and discharge of a six-pounder from the Fort."

The exhilarating news of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie set Fort Stephenson, Fort Seneca and Harrison's Army in an uproar of tumultuous joy. General Harrison and his officers, among whom were Governor Shelby of Kentucky and Governor

Meigs of Ohio, proceeded to Lower Sandusky and issued orders for the movement for the recapture of Detroit and the invasion of Canada, by way of old Fort Sandoski of 1745 and the islands of Lake Erie.

The first formal celebration of the anniversary of the battle was that of 1839, planned by a committee of twenty-one prominent citizens of the village. "A splendid ox was neatly and admirably roasted whole, after the best Kentucky style, supported by several smaller animals cooked in the same manner. The dinner was served under a capacious arbor prepared on the hill in full sight and within a few rods of the old Fort." After the barbecue dinner the company adjourned to the Fort, a few relics of which still remained there, where the Hon. Eleutheros Cooke, of Sandusky, delivered an able address. Letters were received from General Harrison, Henry Clay, Vice-President Richard M. Johnson, Governor Shannon, etc., and the following letter from Croghan was read aloud:

"ST. LOUIS, Mo., 26th July, 1839.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to receive your letter of the 8th, inviting me, on the part of the citizens of Lower Sandusky, to be present with them in the coming anniversary of the defence of Fort Stephenson. It is with regret that I am, on account of official duties, unable to comply with your flattering invitation. In communicating this, my reply, I cannot forbear to acknowledge with deep gratitude, the honor you confer. To have been with those gallant men who served with me on the occasion alluded to, permitted by a kind Providence to perform a public duty which has been deemed worthy of a special notice by my fellow-citizens, is a source of high gratification, brightened too by the reflection that the scene of conflict is now, by the enterprise and industry of your people, the home of a thriving and intelligent community.

I beg to offer to you, gentlemen, and through you to the citizens of Lower Sandusky, my warmest thanks for the remembrance which you have so flatteringly expressed.

With every feeling of respect and gratitude

I am yours,

G. CROGHAN."

In the volunteers sent out from Sandusky county in the War with Mexico, Capt. E. D. Bradley's company of the First Ohio Infantry, and Captain Thompson's company of the Fourth Ohio Infantry, each had the honor of being inspected by the

then Colonel and Inspector General of the army, George Croghan, who took special pleasure in meeting men from the scene of his famous victory.

Of the committee of arrangements for celebrating Croghan Day of 1852, Col. Wm. E. Haynes alone survives. Fully six thousand persons were present. A salute of twenty-one guns from "Old Betsy Croghan" opened the exercises. In the procession were the Fort Ball Artillery and Band, the Washington Guards and the Tiffin Hook and Ladder Company, all of Tiffin; the latter with Wm. H. Gibson, later Brigadier General of Volunteers; W. W. Armstrong, later Secretary of State and long editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer; and John C. Lee, later Brigadier General and Lieut. Governor of Ohio, who pulled the hand engine and hose cart. The Fremont Artillery, Captain Isaac Swank with the cannon "Betsy Croghan," followed. Wm. H. Gibson, the Patrick Henry of the nineteenth century, and Homer Everett delivered eloquent addresses. Gen. John Bell of the Michigan War was president of the day.

In 1858, the celebration was managed by the "Firemen of the Village," through a committee of seven citizens, who invited the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey to deliver the address. He said: "Some who are present knew the site of this beautiful village when it was a dilapidated, abandoned Indian town, approached with difficulty by civilized men by reason of the thick forests and deep swamps. It was so remote from the settlements in Pennsylvania, which then bordered civilization, and so embosomed in the wilderness, that to the Indians it was only a city of refuge. For a long period they committed depredations on the lives and property of the resolute and hardy settlers. In some instances whole families were murdered; but most frequently women and children were captured and borne off with celerity to escape pursuit. When the Indians arrived with their captives, stolen horses and plunder at Lower Sandusky they were safe. From this spot in former years, many anguished sighs ascended to Heaven from distressed mothers who stopped here for a short period on their way to Detroit, or other places of captivity, while their savage captors held pow-wows of exultation. Many a mother's heart has bled here from having seen

the head of a beloved child broken against a tree, for no other reason than that its captor thought the child a burden or impeded his flight. I know of no place in the West where more thrilling events have taken place than at Lower Sandusky where we are now. When I was here last season and had the pleasure to converse with our esteemed friend S. Birchard, Esq., my effort was to impress upon his mind the importance of forming a Historical Society here to collect and perpetuate the incidents of this place, extending far back into the history of the Wyandot tribe. Lower Sandusky was the theatre during the War of 1812 of one of the greatest military achievements of the age, when the number and condition of the force under Major Croghan are considered. If forty-five years ago this day Major Croghan had not been adequate to his condition and command, and General Proctor had captured this post, can your minds depict the sufferings and terrific scenes that would have followed?"

Cassius M. Clay was the orator of the day at the Croghan celebration of 1860. "At six o'clock Captain Parrish brought out Old Betsy and fired a salute of thirteen rounds. Soon afterward the people of the county began to pour in. The Cleveland and Toledo Railway brought a large delegation from the west and from all the towns to the east. The steamers *Bonnie Boat*, *Swan* and *Island Queen* arrived from Sandusky and Plaster Bed bringing hundreds more."

Every 2d of August thereafter had some recognition from the townspeople, but in 1877 the long-planned celebration was postponed a few weeks that Fremont's most distinguished citizen, then President of the United States, might be present to assist in the laying of the cornerstone of the City Hall on the north-east corner of Fort Stephenson Park, the ceremonies being conducted by G. A. Woodward, Grand Master Mason Lodge of Ohio, after which President Hayes closed the ceremonies by saying: "Ladies, gentlemen, and fellow-citizens: For the purposes of the city of Fremont we erect here on this ground made illustrious by the victory of Col. Croghan at his gallant combat with the British, a City Hall. The cornerstone has now been laid. The ceremonies in connection with it are now ended and I am requested to announce that the further public exercises of

the day will take place immediately after dinner at the park in front of the Court House."

At the exercises in the afternoon, President Hayes presided, and after the orator of the day, Major William McKinley, 23d Ohio, had delivered his address, introduced Chief Justice Waite, Secretary of War McCrary, Senator Stanley Matthews, Lt. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, U. S. A., and former Generals W. S. Rosecrans, J. D. Cox, S. S. Carroll, I. H. Duval,



"Columbus Discovers America" — Float.

F. H. Devol, E. P. Scammon, R. P. Kennedy, and our own Wm. H. Gibson and R. P. Buckland.

On Croghan Day, 1885, the Sandusky County Soldiers' Monument in Fort Stephenson Park, was unveiled, with Gen. Rutherford B. Hayes, late President of the United States, as presiding officer. In his address we find: "Intimately associated with Croghan's Victory are the favorite names of the pioneer history of the West. General Harrison, Commodore Perry, General Cass, General McArthur, Col. Rich. M. Johnson,

Governor Meigs, Governor Tiffin and a long list of other able men whose names were household words in the homes of the first settlers of this region, were all closely identified with the military events which hinged upon the brilliant victory which was gained here, and which decided the struggle for the vast and noble territory which is tributary to the Great Lakes of the Northwest. That I do not overstate the importance of the brilliant event which gives a place in history to our little city of Fremont, I read you a few paragraphs from letters by Col. Chas. Whittlesey of Cleveland and by General Sherman. With an honorable record as a Union soldier, Colonel Whittlesey is still more widely known as the indefatigable and learned local historian of this part of our country. He says:

"Your polite invitation brings in review a number of historical events connected with your city, that have occurred during the past century. The rapids at Lower Sandusky, where Fremont now is, put a stop to the expedition of Colonel Bradstreet in October 1764, on its way to join Colonel Bouquet at the forks of the Muskingum. During the war of the Revolution, many of the expeditions of the British and their Indian allies passed up the Sandusky river, to attack the frontier settlements. In the fall of 1781 the Moravian Missions on the Tuscarawas under Zeisberger, were forced away from their posts to the towns on the Sandusky, and thence to Detroit. English and Indian war parties passed up the river to join in the battle against Colonel Crawford near Upper Sandusky, in June 1782. The first Protestant Mission among the Wyandots and the first United States Agency, were located at the lower rapids in 1803 and 1808, their buildings forming part of the fort constructed in 1812. The first company drafted on the Reserve in April 1812, under Capt. John Campbell was ordered there, and assisted in completing the Fort. But all these interesting events culminated in the unparalleled discomfiture of the British and Indians in August, 1813, by a young Major of Kentucky, acting against orders. Nothing can be more appropriate than the celebration of a defence so brilliant and complete and the erection of a suitable monument to fix the spot forever."

General Sherman writing to the Committee points out in his terse way the strategic value of the triumphant defence of Fort Stephenson. He says:

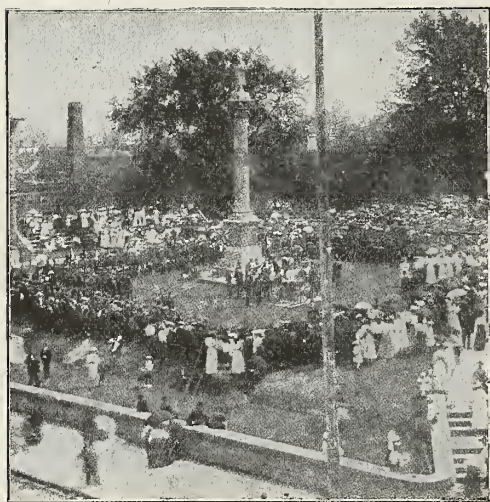
"The defence of Fort Stephenson, by Croghan and his gallant little band, was the necessary precursor to Perry's victory on the Lake, and of General Harrison's triumphant victory at the battle of the Thames. These assured to our immediate ancestors the mastery of the Great

West, and from that day to this the west has been the bulwark of this nation."

Croghan Day, 1903, was made notable by the presence as orator of Mr. Charles R. Williams of Indianapolis, who delivered an able address on Croghan before the George Croghan Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution, assembled under the fine old Reunion Oaks at Spiegel Grove. The President General of the D. A. R., Mrs. Chas. W. Fairbanks, was an honored guest and speaker; and the D. A. R. chapter unveiled a boulder tablet to Croghan on the old Fort.

The ceremonies incident to the reinterment of John Paul Jones at Annapolis recalled to the patriotic Colonel Webb C.

Hayes another form of honoring our local hero, and he, having after much search located the remains of Croghan, received permission from the family to reinter the remains at the base of the monument erected some years before in his honor, within the limits of the fort he had so gallantly defended. Elaborate preparations were made and invitations extended to national and state officials,



Reinterment of Remains of Croghan.
1906.

which secured the presence of Chas. W. Fairbanks, Vice-President of the United States, Gov. A. L. Harris and staff, and a brigade of the Ohio National Guard under command of Brig. General McMaken. A procession of children from the public and parochial schools followed the military division, and the remains were taken from the High school (where they had lain in state on the site of the burial place of the British officers killed in

the assault) and conveyed to the foot of the monument on the fort. The grave was covered with a large block of Quincy granite bearing this inscription:

George Croghan
Major 17th U. S. Infantry,
Defender of Fort Stephenson,
August 1st and 2d, 1813.
Born Locust Grove, Ky., Nov. 15, 1791.
Died New Orleans, La., Jan. 8, 1849,
Colonel Inspector General
United States Army.
Remains removed from
Croghan Family Burying Ground,
Locust Grove, Ky.,
August 2, 1906.

The principal address was delivered by the Hon. S. D. Dodge of Cleveland, followed by remarks by Vice-President Fairbanks, Governor Harris and Secretary Randall of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. A public reception was

held in Spiegel Grove and the celebration terminated with a brilliant display of fireworks and a Venetian Night. (Details of this ceremony of the Translation of Croghan may be found in Miss Keeler's article opening Vol. XVI of the Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quarterly.)

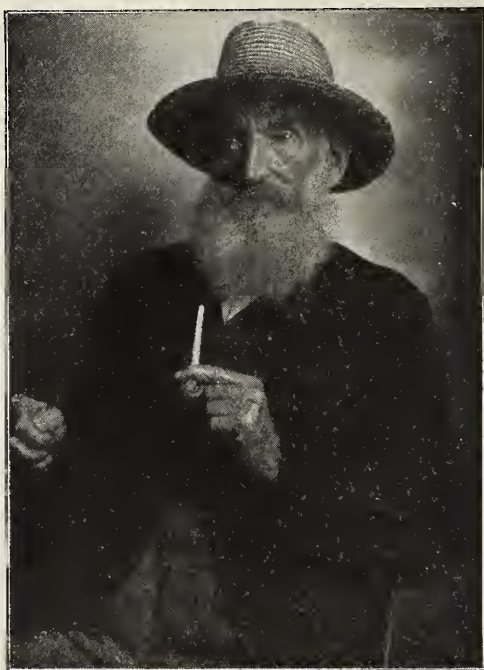


Hon. T. A. Dean, Chairman
Croghan Centennial Celebration.

The patriotic citizens of Fremont having long looked forward to a fitting celebration of the centenary of Croghan's Victory, early in the year of 1913 appointed efficient centennial committees having the matter in charge. Preparations were well under way when the appalling spring floods came, bringing death and destruction to the river towns in Ohio, those along the old Sandusky-Scioto waterways of the Indians suffering not the least.

The centennial committees of Fremont at once turned their

entire attention to the relief of the distressed citizens and by common consent the centennial celebration was abandoned. Just prior to the Fourth of July, however, the decision was suddenly made not to let the centennial of Croghan's Defence of Fort Stephenson which saved the State from the invasion of British and Indians go entirely unrecognized. A resolution at the annual meeting of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society to have suitable exercises in connection with the dedication of the Harrison Trail and McPherson-Thompson Gateways at Spiegel Grove; and a patriotic resolution by the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows to have a basket picnic on the same date, were followed by energetic action by the Fremont centennial commission, with the result that a local celebration was enthusiastically arranged and subsequently carried out. With the exception of the soldierly battalion of engineers of the Ohio National



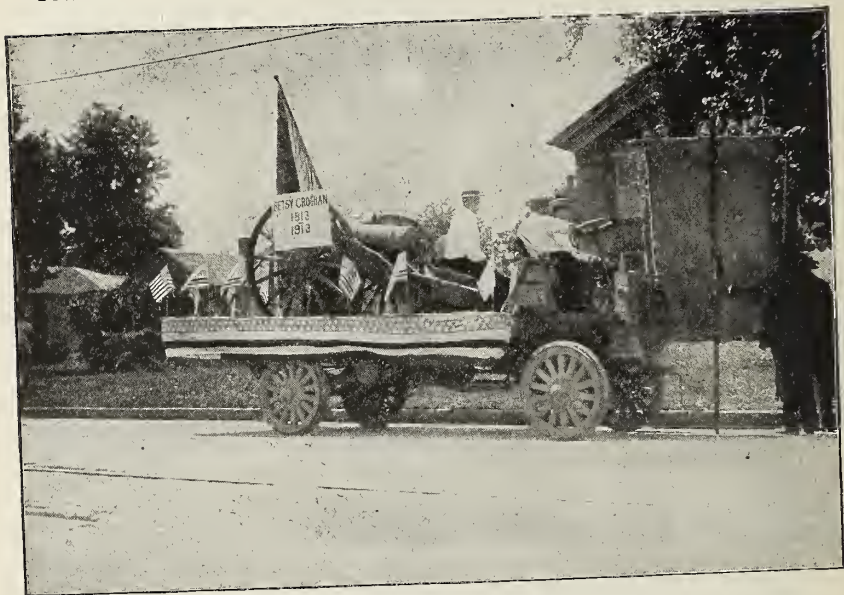
Captain Andrew Kline, Veteran of Mexican and Civil Wars.

Guard, under command of Lieut.-Col. McQuigg of Cleveland, and the presence of Congressman Simeon D. Fess, President of Antioch College and orator of the day; and Gen. W. R. Warnock, commander of the Department of Ohio, G. A. R.; and H. C. Kuntz, Grand Master I. O. O. F. of Ohio;—the officers of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society now being classed as citizens of Fremont,—the celebration was

purely local. A distinct effort was made to avoid decorations other than the national flag of forty-eight stars and to keep expenses to the minimum with the exception of the display of fireworks and the Venetian Night on Sandusky river and the reproduction of Fort Stephenson on Brady's Island—the island made famous by the scout Brady who, to secure information under direct orders from Washington, secreted himself on this island to determine the disposition of the Indians and their possible warlike intentions during the last year of the Revolutionary War.

The pageant of the morning in which over two thousand persons participated, took the form of a procession of military and fraternal organizations and of historical and industrial floats. The formation of the parade took place on the east side, Croghansville, Fremont's original site. Objects and floats that drew special applause were "Old Betsy," Croghan's historic cannon, guarded by members of the G. A. R.; Captain Kline, a veteran of the Mexican and the Civil Wars, driving in President Hayes' old barouche; and the Port Clinton Life Savers who did such heroic rescue work during the recent Fremont flood. The Presbyterian float showed the Rev. Joseph Badger, pioneer Presbyterian missionary to this region, sitting by his cabin which about 1807 he built on the knoll where six years later the battle was fought. Badger, a Revolutionary soldier, who fought both at Lexington and Bunker Hill, was educated in the family of a president of Yale, and in the opening year of the nineteenth century was sent to Ohio by the Connecticut Foreign Missionary Society, becoming the first minister and school teacher in the Sandusky country. Knowing the locality perfectly, he served frequently as guide as well as brigade chaplain in Harrison's army in the war of 1812. He continued his devoted work as missionary among the Indians without stated compensation till 1826 when he obtained a pension of ninety-six dollars a year as a Revolutionary soldier. In 1840, during the famous Harrison presidential campaign, the Whigs of northwestern Ohio reached the convention hall in Columbus, in a procession half a mile long, with a facsimile of Fort Meigs at its head. This was built under the supervision of Elder Badger, then eighty years old, who

rode jauntily upon the fort which he had so valiantly defended. The Badger float was preceded by twenty-two scouts on horses, well armed. The Daughters of the War of 1812 displayed a float representing the log cabin of James and Elizabeth Whittaker, first permanent white settlers in Ohio. The two young white captives, adopted by the Wyandots, were by them given as a wedding portion a choice tract of land along the river a few miles below Fort Stephenson, in 1781, their first cabin ante-



"Old Betsy" — Defender of Ft. Stephenson.

dating by several years the settlement at Marietta. More than thirty years later, the British army retreating down the river, after their defeat at Fort Stephenson, stopped at the Whittaker reservation long enough to fire and utterly destroy the old home, warehouse, the government factory and the wharves. They also carried off a handsome silver service which British officers had presented to the Whittakers several years earlier in token of their appreciation of many kindnesses. Mrs. Whittaker had cared for the distinguished Revolutionary officer, Major Nathan Goodale, intimate friend of Rufus Putnam, when as Indian

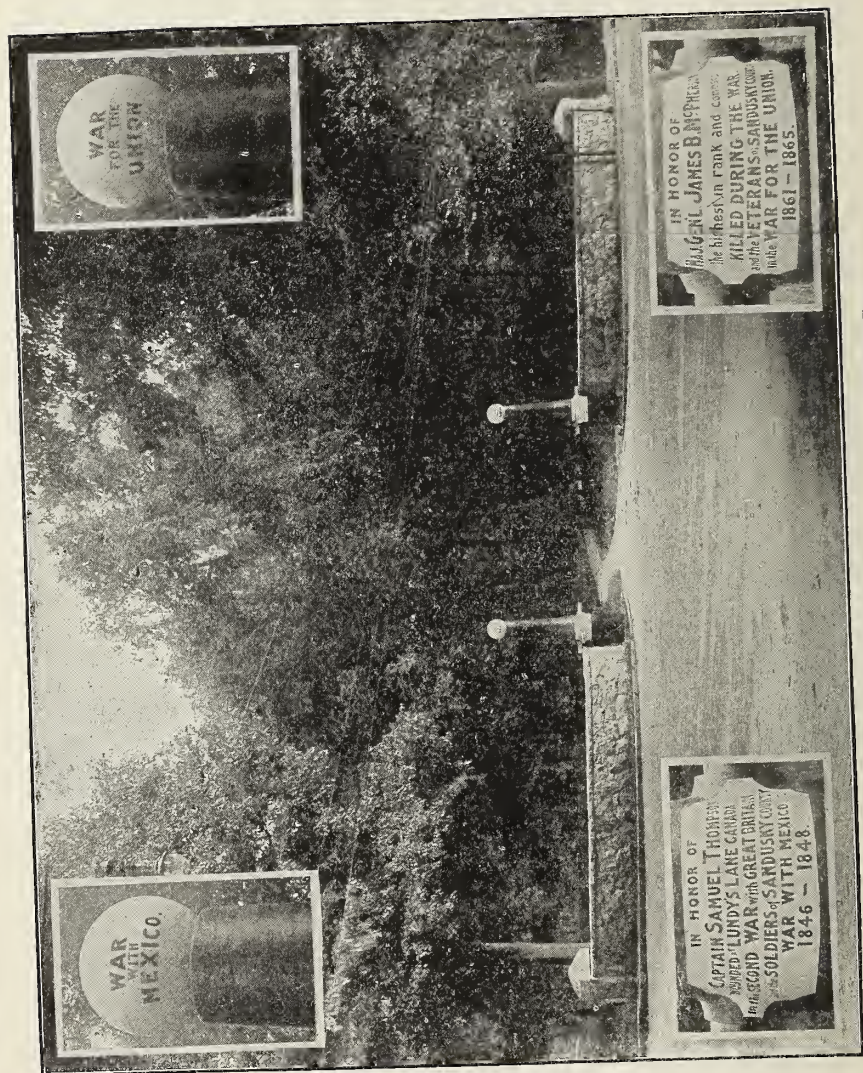
captive he had been hurried from his home in Marietta and too ill to travel further was left to die at the Whittaker's.

The Whittaker float was followed by the display of the East Side Improvement Association, led by a group of young men on horseback, with a float representing "the city of refuge, 1650." Their banner was inscribed, "site of the first church and court house." This float started at Pine Street where the first court house was located.



Parade — August 2d, 1913.

The Daughters of the American Revolution commemorated the Bradstreet Expedition of 1764, to recover the forts taken by Pontiac. Their float was gay with counterfeit presentments of British and Colonial figures, Bradstreet himself; Israel Putnam, hero of the wolf's den and Bunker Hill; Montresor, the distinguished British engineer; and Pontiac, who defied them all. Bradstreet's army of 1,400 men came up the Sandusky river in sixty long boats, Lower Sandusky (Fremont) being the westernmost point reached by the expedition.



McPherson-Thompson Gateway, Spiegel Grove.

Methodism harked back to Rev. James Finley, the pioneer preacher, who carried on the notable mission to the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky. Almost a century ago Finley adopted what are considered modern methods of dealing with the Indian on his reservation,—industrial training and land in severalty. The Catholic Knights of Columbus had a beautiful float representing Columbus' Discovery of America.

The reviewing stand was erected opposite the McPherson-Thompson Gateway at Spiegel Grove, from which point the



East Side Float.

procession was reviewed by his Honor Mayor Stausmyer and the former Mayors of Fremont; Capt. Andrew Kline, the Chairman of the day, and his representative, City Solicitor Overmyer; the Hon. S. D. Fess, orator of the day; Gen. W. R. Warnock, Commander of the Grand Army; Grand Master Kuntz; Pres. G. Frederick Wright and Secy. E. O. Randall and L. P. Schaus, chairman of the Hayes Memorial Building Committee; all of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society; and Major Geo. D. Saffarans, Seventeenth U. S. Infantry, as a representative of

the regiment in which the gallant Major George Croghan was his predecessor one hundred years ago. On reaching the reviewing stand Lieut.-Col. McQuigg, commanding the battalion of engineers, marched his command into Spiegel Grove and counter-marched through the grove over the Harrison Trail, as Major Croghan had done on his return from Fort Seneca, to take command again of Fort Stephenson the evening before the battle. The remaining division counter-marched after passing the reviewing stand, and returning east on Croghan Street was disbanded at Fort Stephenson. The brief exercises of dedication and acceptance of the McPherson-Thompson gateway, erected in honor of the soldiers of Sandusky County who fought in the war with Mexico, and in the War for the Union, consisted of its presentation by General Warnock, and acceptance on behalf of the Society by Secretary Randall, following which the distinguished guests were conveyed south along the new Cleveland Avenue, on the west side of Spiegel Grove, to the beautiful Harrison Trail Gateway at the southern entrance of the old Sandusky-Scioto land trail later known as the Harrison Trail; to the Buckland gateway the main entrance into Spiegel Grove some three-quarters of a mile from Fort Stephenson. The Harrison gateway was accepted by President G. Frederick Wright of the Archaeological and Historical Society on behalf of the Society, as follows:

From the days of Joshua when he placed memorial stones to mark the place where the Children of Israel crossed the Jordan to enter the Promised Land, until now, patriots have ever been wont to erect similar monuments to mark places of special historical interest, so that now as then children shall be led to ask of their parents, What mean ye by these stones? thus compelling them to keep alive the memories of the past. Fully to answer the questions stirred by the sight of this impressive and beautiful gateway would require a longer story than we can pause to tell on the present occasion. But we cannot let the occasion pass without giving a brief summary of its significance.

For untold ages the native races of America passed through these grounds as they traveled to and fro between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. A deeply eroded pathway still bears evidence of the countless feet that in ages past have trod this highway. Coming down from the summit of the hill to the north the trail led through this gateway to a spring in the valley, where the weary travelers could quench their thirst,

and thence passed onward to the higher general level from which it had descended.

As in numerous other instances civilized man here found that he could do no better than follow the Indian trail. A hundred years ago this very month General William Henry Harrison was encamped with a considerable army at Camp Seneca, a few miles south of here, having come so far on his way to meet the British forces that were occupying the western end of Lake Erie. While Harrison paused at Fort Seneca where he could keep in communication with the forces that were gathering at some distance upon his right and left flank, Major Croghan won his famous victory over the British forces at Fort Stephenson where his monument is erected in the center of Fremont. Forthwith scenes were here enacted that had not been witnessed before or since. Long lines of well armed infantry and splendidly mounted cavalry with their accompanying artillery and baggage wagons moved along this trail, passed through the area occupied by this gateway and over the hill beyond, on its way to old Fort Sandoski and across Lake Erie, to the brilliant victory of the Thames. A few weeks later the same warlike host exultant with victory returned over this trail to enjoy with their fellow countrymen the fruits of a lasting peace. The picture brought up to the imagination is an inspiring one and should draw to this spot countless pilgrims desiring to be thrilled with the patriotic emotions which this gateway is calculated to rouse. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society to whom the care of these grounds has been committed by the generous donor, Colonel Webb C. Hayes, now opens this gateway to the public believing that all who pass through it will give thanks to Colonel Hayes for the noble tribute which he here gives to the defenders of our country a hundred years ago, that as they pass on to see the memorials which the state has erected to his distinguished father General Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, they can but still further appreciate the significance of these memorial stones.

The three handsome gateways are the gift of Col. Webb C. Hayes. Between the Harrison and Buckland entrances runs the Harrison Trail, an old, deeply trodden military road, preserved as the principal driveway of Spiegel Grove. It was traversed by the Jesuit missionaries and the early war parties with their Indian allies in their endeavors to expel the English from the Ohio country, and later by Harrison's troops and supplies. Israel Putnam, Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, and the Moravian missionaries passed along this famous road, as well as all the principal officers of the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson alone excepted: William Henry Harrison; Richard M. Johnson, later

Vice President; Lewis Cass, later Postmaster General; Governor Meigs of Ohio, and the venerable Governor Shelby of Kentucky.

Fort Stephenson, where the addresses of the day were made, is unique among old forts in preserving its original area, its original armament and the body of its defender. The speakers' stand was erected near the grave of Croghan, over which "Old Betsy" Croghan's single piece of artillery stands guard. Many distinguished soldiers and statesmen and civilians have through the years paid tribute at Old Betsy's shrine; and like Independence Bell she has made voyages of honor. She is the only one left who saw Croghan in battle and heard the quick orders of those critical days; who faced the oncoming veterans of Wellington's troops and laid many of them to rest about her in the soil of Lower Sandusky.

The guests of the Committee and the speakers of the afternoon, together with Major George D. Saffarans of the 17th U. S. Infantry, as the representative of Croghan's old Regiment, and Brig. Gen. W. V. McMaken and Lt. Col. John R. McQuigg, with the officers and their ladies of the battalion of Engineers O. N. G., lunched as the guests of Col. and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes, at Spiegel Grove.

The program of the afternoon was opened by Mayor Stausmyer, who introduced the chairman of the day as follows: "Ladies and Gentlemen, We are assembled here to-day for the purpose of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of Croghan's Victory. I am indeed glad to see the general interest which has been taken and to have so many present. I take pleasure and pride in introducing to you Capt. Andrew Kline, the hero of two wars, the honorary president of the day." Captain Kline was given an ovation, and in rising to acknowledge the greeting of the audience introduced Arthur W.



Hon. C. Stausmyer.

Overmyer, Esq., City Solicitor of Fremont, as acting president of the day. Mr. Overmyer said:

"Fellow Citizens: In behalf of Capt. Kline, I want to thank you for the very kind reception you have just tendered him, and I also want to join with you, ladies and gentlemen, in paying my most sincere respects to this grand old veteran.

He is the one connecting link between the event we are celebrating and this day. He saw Major Croghan in his lifetime and he sees us today and in that way represents the span of a century.

Sorry indeed do I feel for the man or woman in this audience, if any there be, who does not enter completely into the spirit of this moment or is not thrilled by what we here are witnessing. To have with us a veteran of a war that ended sixty-five years ago, and who saw our hero, Major Croghan, in his lifetime, is a fact which alone is worthy of celebration.

Fellow citizens, we are convened this day on holy ground. Here is the sacred spot where the cause of liberty achieved one of its most glorious victories; here the pulsation of the heart of true freedom was quickened. When we pause for a moment to contemplate the events that transpired on this spot one hundred years ago, it thrills our hearts with the most patriotic feeling and I feel sorry indeed for any one who cannot enter into the spirit of this hour. I have thought what it would mean if on this day, after the lapse of a century, the defender of Fort Stephenson, released from the sleep of death in yonder sacred mound, could re-appear on earth and be with us, what indeed would be his emotions of joy and wonder!

We are now a century removed from that eventful day when an American youth, with true American patriotism in his heart, achieved here a splendid success, and it is eminently fitting and proper that we should assemble here on this day and in



A. W. Overmyer.

speech, song and story commemorate this important historical event, and at the same time pay our respects once more to our single survivor of the Mexican War and the fast thinning ranks of the Grand Army of the Republic.

We are honored in having with us today men of national prominence and from them we will hear patriotic words of hope, of praise and of counsel. Let us give them close attention that the lessons of this day may be borne with us through life.

I desire to read to you at this time a letter from Major Croghan written to the committee in charge of the celebration in 1839.

(Reads letter. See page 3.)

It is gratifying to recall that Major Croghan was permitted to live long enough to know that the service he here had rendered was being given its proper place in history and that the citizens at that early day showed their appreciation of the importance of this event. I think one of the most gratifying things in American history is the fact that our great and good Washington was permitted to select the site and prepare the plan for our national capital and knew that it was to bear his name; and one of the saddest things in history, to my mind, is that our martyred Lincoln was not permitted to live to see the complete reunion of the North and South, a reunited country free from the stains of slavery.

Before proceeding with the program I desire to read another letter showing a connecting link between Croghan's day and our own. Adjutant General George H. Wood, in sending his regrets and advising us of the order for the presence of the Battalion of Engineers, Ohio National Guard, at these ceremonies, writes as follows:

STATE OF OHIO.

THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

COLUMBUS.

MY DEAR COLONEL: In conformity with your request I have directed Lieutenant Colonel John R. McQuigg, Commanding Corps of Engineers, O. N. G., to proceed on August 2nd to Fremont to take part with the citizens of Fremont in the celebration of the centennial of the Defence of Fort Stephenson by Major Croghan.

A centennial means a hundred years and does seem a long stretch of time, and rather strangely, I have heard accounts given by Major Croghan, at only second hand, for it happened that in 1845-6 when my father, the late General Thomas J. Wood, U. S. A., who graduated from West Point in 1845, was serving on the staff of General Zachary Taylor in the Mexican War, Major Croghan, at that time Colonel and Inspector General, was also on the staff of General Taylor and quite a friendship sprang up between the grizzled veteran of 1812 and the young boy fresh from West Point and my father often told me of hearing Colonel Croghan tell of his services during the War of 1812, especially of the gallant defense of Fort Stephenson. So you can see that probably I have received the "freshest" news on this subject of any one in the State of Ohio.

Very sincerely,

GEORGE H. WOOD,
The Adjutant General.

Colonel Webb C. Hayes,
Fremont, Ohio.

In introducing the Hon. S. D. Fess, orator of the day, Mr. Overmyer spoke of the good fortune of the committee in having been able to secure so able and well known an orator, writer and historian as Dr. Fess to deliver the principal address of the day and made the prediction that his address would make a valuable addition to the historical literature of our country.



Hon. S. D. Fess.

ADDRESS OF HON. S. D. FESS.

I accepted your invitation to make this address with a peculiar interest, and I assure you it gives me an unusual pleasure to be here. For years I have been scolding at the average citizen for his wicked indifference toward the preservation of the tablets of our history. We are so young as a nation that we can not realize any interest in holding to the past. In some parts of the country, as in New England, the citizenship has awakened to this duty. Only a short time ago, when the commercial call was about to raze the old South Church in Boston to make way for a handsome modern office building, the citizenship of that New England city was aroused and readily responded to the call to complete plans whereby such a consummation would be made an impossibility.

A few days ago I stood on the famous estate of Gen. Washington, at Mount Vernon, and allowed my mind to rest upon the tardiness of State and Nation and people to preserve this, the most famous spot in America, which was not finally accomplished until an invalid southern girl gave herself to the task. It is now perpetually assured. But not so with Monticello, Montpelier, The Hermitage, and so forth.

In the midst of such vicious neglect, what a tonic one receives to come face to face with the magnificent work of such organizations as the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, and kindred associations!

I have known something of these activities in the past, and especially in this most fertile section of Ohio, historically speaking; hence my delight in being enabled to come. I desire to congratulate this community first upon its position in history and, second, in having such leaders as Col. Hayes and others to direct you.

Most places are satisfied with but a single historical event, but in your case you have a succession of events that will pass as first in rank. Here we have the wondrous activities between the French and English as well as the Indian in the final determination of national control. The tablets dating back to 1745, then 1754 to 1763, refer us to one of the most historically significant struggles on the continent. History refers to this struggle as the French and Indian War. In Europe it is known as the Seven Years' War, although it lasted nine years—1754 to 1763.

From 1688 to 1815 twelve wars were waged between England and France for supremacy upon the sea. During these one hundred and twenty-seven years fifty-four of them were spent in actual fighting. One of these dozen wars was our French and Indian, in which Fremont and vicinity played so prominent a place. All along the shores of lakes, and especially at the mouths of the various rivers, the French took the precaution to plant leaden plates with inscriptions, to make sure their title in the case of a contest. When the dispute was transferred from forum to field, which caused this place to be overrun by French and Indians and finally secured to the English by the closing of the war scenes on the Plains of Abraham, the first distinctive step to the building of the modern state of democracy was taken.

While history dismisses the event by stating that the English took possession of the North American Continent, it does not express the full meaning of the results. The final struggle which closed at Quebec was more than a contest between two nations for the control of a continent. It was a contest between two most distinctive systems of government. On the one hand the contention was the establishment of an ecclesiasticism, on the other the building of an Anglo-Saxon democracy. On the one hand it demanded a union of church and state, on the other the American tripod of free state, free church, and free school. Had France

won in 1763, this new world would have become the chief home of a French ecclesiastical dynasty. Instead it was reserved as the virgin soil in which were planted the seeds of liberty in government, based upon freedom in church, school, and state, and which within the short period of one hundred and fifty years has become the riddle of the world. Little did our ancestry think of what the future held. They could not believe that by 1913 this planting would produce a nation of one hundred millions of people, a population two and one-half times that of the mother country, ten times that of her largest colony—United Colonies of Australia—sixteen times that of Canada, and more than all the other English-speaking peoples of the world combined. No wonder that Salisbury in an outburst of oratory said upon one occasion, "Had it not been for the unwise policy of an English King the capital of the British Empire in all probability would today be on the North American Continent." No wonder that in 1878 W. E. Gladstone, eulogizing the achievements of the two nations, shouted, "Oh, brave mother; Oh, braver daughter, you have done more in one year than we in eight. You have passed us in a canter." When a citizen in 1913 contemplates the meaning of that contest one hundred and fifty years ago and then remembers this was a part of the battle ground, and there "Old Betsy," a real participant in the struggle, it has a new significance.

But the significance of this place will not be confined to fighting the French in the Seven Years' War or the Indians led by Pontiac in 1763. The records indicate that here at this very place were held during the Revolutionary War perhaps as many as 2,000 prisoners, and "Old Betsy" had a part in that greater struggle. The war that closed in 1763 by the treaty of Paris decided America as the chief theater of an Anglo-Saxon democracy. However, under the mother country it had certain effete customs which were unwelcome to the American pioneer who braved the sea and faced death that he might be free from many of these customs. Some of these people left England for the Continent, others remained to fight the battles on native soil with Pym, Hampden, and Cromwell, while others embarked on the unknown sea in search of the New World. Arbitrary government, taxation without representation, and so forth, are usually detailed as the cause of the War of the Revolution. That is true, but is not the whole truth. England recognized in a way the feudal system with its corollary customs of primogeniture and entailed estates. She had secured the latter two customs in Virginia and Pennsylvania. England also believed then as she does now in hereditary government; that some men are born to rule, others to serve. We denied it and took our stand upon the principle that the right to govern must come from the consent of the governed. The George III idea was the head of the nation both ruled and reigned, while we held the head of the Nation the servant of all the people. This was a fundamental principle first established by us as the most significant step in self-govern-

ment ever taken. England believed in the life tenure in office, while our slogan was short terms and quick and decisive responsibility. While it is true the ostensible cause of the Revolutionary War was no taxation without representation, or better, no legislation without representation, the real result of that war was to give full play to the new democracy planted years before, free from the effete customs of continental Europe or the mother country. In that world-wide significant struggle this part of the country was an interesting field.

No citizen of our day can know the utter contempt in which England held the colonies the first two decades of our national life, and the consequent humility of our representatives at her court. A perusal of the writing of Franklin, and especially John Adams, as well as Jefferson, will shed some light on this treatment. The conduct of Citizen Genet reflects the regard France had for us as a national entity in the countries of the world. The contempt with which England refused to remove her forts, and which was not fully done until after the Jay treaty of 1796, as well as the X Y Z mission of France, in 1798, and the miserable conduct of Minister Merry, all show with what small respect our Nation was regarded in Europe. The episode of the Carolina was not to be unexpected, as well as the famous orders in Council of England and the Berlin and Milan decrees of France, which forced us to declare the embargo of 1807. Europe was using the new Republic as a handy man to have around to be treated as a football, if desirable.

The administration wisely attempted to avoid war until the jingoes declared Madison could not be kicked into a war. England became so arrogant, having impressed at least 5,000 American seamen into the British service upon the monstrous doctrine "Once an Englishman always an Englishman," augmented by the ruling that one speaking the English language is an Englishman until he could prove he was not, and that by documentary evidence, that to further submit seemed dishonor, and war was declared in June, 1812. It is not my purpose to detail this struggle. Our school children are familiar with the brilliant performances upon the sea, and no less familiar with our disasters and, in one instance, dishonor upon the land. As has been said here, on this very spot took place the one distinct land operation that redeemed the American name. Croghan and Fort Stephenson--the name and fame are household furniture of these people here. It would be but a repetition of the most familiar item of our history for me to detail the operations here one hundred years ago today. A mere mention of the spectacular defense of this historic spot by that gallant boy, just past his majority, and his brave band of 160, who repulsed the English regulars, under the ignoble Proctor, is sufficient on this occasion, which is designed to call up the larger results on the world's struggles, in which this place was one of the chief battle grounds, and which in turn became the chief gateway of the current of progress which virtually has enveloped the world; for this battle in

this second war of independence made possible the victory on Lake Erie, which we are celebrating this year.

This Perry's victory in turn made possible the victories on the Thames and the second naval triumph on Champlain. Notwithstanding the British attack on Washington and the burning of the Capitol, the young Republic gathered new strength from the triumph at Lundy's Lane and the numerous engagements on the sea, which forced peace the latter part of December, 1814, although the one most spectacular of all engagements, that of New Orleans, was fought several days after the treaty, on January 8, 1815.

From the time of this war, although our distinguished commissioners did not secure a reversal of the contention on the main points of issue, the new Republic was henceforth looked upon in Europe as a growing giant, demanding an immediate recognition. Our Navy had won its plaudits and was the topic of enthusiastic comment both in Europe and America. Our diplomacy, as represented by J. Q. Adams, Henry Clay, and others less distinguished, had won great respect. Our domestic enterprises along manufacturing and commercial lines were gaining by leaps and bounds. Henceforth our representatives were received in all European courts with marked deference and respect. The ending of this war was the beginning of the Nation's development. From that day to 1860 we had one unbroken triumph in material progress, save a short, unhappy difference with Mexico.

At this time and here it would probably be out of order for me to rehearse the events which drove us into the most gigantic war known to man. Suffice it to say, as the French and Indian War was a struggle between two systems of government, and the Revolutionary War was a struggle for a larger political liberty, and the War of 1812 was a struggle for the recognition of national rights, the Civil War, the greatest of all, was a struggle between two civilizations, differentiated by natural differences over which law and legislation had little effect. And as the region of Sandusky played a part in all the early wars, so Fremont played a distinct part in this greatest of wars. The nation recognized that part by placing at its head one of its citizens, who had won his rank in that war for human rights.

This greatest of all wars which placed 2,000,000 soldiers in the field to battle as Greek against Greek at the staggering outlay of over one thousand million dollars, at the cost of lives to the number of 600,000 ended at last with two decisive results, viz., the freedom of a race and, what was a thousand times of greater importance, the preservation of the Union. The first result was inevitable. The civilization of the nineteenth century had pronounced against slavery and its day was at hand. * Had it not come as the result of war it would have come as the result of an awakened national conscience. But the perpetuity of the Union was not at all an assured fact. Only an American could believe it possible. Eu-

rope expressed her conviction in its impossible continuance through Macaulay, De Toqueville, Gladstone, and others. Even the great English Commoner proclaimed that Jefferson Davis had given to the world a second republic that would rival the first.

It is not for the present historian to estimate the importance of this result of the Civil War. It must be left to the future discriminating interpreter of great events who to properly estimate the importance to history must view the event in its influence, not upon our country alone but upon the Governments of the world. When the war ended, assuring the stability of American self-government, Democracy's cause took on new life, and the places where it was planted received new fertilizing impulses, and what were up to that time vague semblances of republican government became dynamic forces regnant with order. Here and there throughout the world mutterings of unrest under arbitrary rule became distinctive demands. It took possession of Italy. It startled every Government in Europe, the last to show it most was Portugal. It changed in a night's time monarchical Brazil into a Republic. It has covered the seas with its fragrant bloom in the United Colonies of Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and has touched on the Empire of South Africa. It awakened Russia, and has even revolutionized the yellow race in its influence upon Japan, and last, but not least, China, which on February 12, 1912, passed from the control of the Manchu dynasty, under which the Celestial Empire had continued for over four thousand years, to that of the national assembly, and thus wrote the page of American influence in the Far East.

In 1813 the entire country was composed of but 18 States. The population of the entire United States was little more than that of the single city of Greater New York today, while the wealth of the Nation, as estimates were then made, was less than that of New York City today. In that day we had no standing in the councils of the nations; today no serious world problem is proposed which does not enlist our opinions. Our influence is not confined to the interests of our own people, but, as signified by the expansive meaning of the Monroe doctrine, we have assumed and maintained the guardianship of the liberties and welfare of the western world. We have even gone beyond this realm. When the call of Cuba was finally heard, for the mere sake of humanity, we responded when we were morally certain the response meant war, and with firm hand we bade Spain either to modify her inhuman policy or leave the work of governing the people of Cuba to other hands. We accepted the choice of Spain, the arbitrament of the sword, and as a consequence have assumed not only the task of preserving order in Cuba, but the far greater duty of modernizing the peoples of the Philippines by introducing the common-school methods, and by the orderly processes of evolution have witnessed within a decade the sure evidences of a transformed people, a changed civilization through education, to be brought

about within a few generations. This duty has been performed at a frightful sacrifice to us.

All good citizens are hoping that the unhappy country of Mexico will be able to stop the atrocities of rival leadership without interference from without. For we can not brook interference on the part of Europe, at whatever cost. The Nation will hardly surrender the Monroe doctrine. If it maintains this principle, it is then morally and legally obligated to protect life and property of citizens of other countries. On this occasion I would not have this people believe I extol war simply because the historic incident we celebrate has its interest in war, nor because in our observations upon the growth of democratic government we have referred to the specific results of specific wars.

While the fruits of war in these respects are marked, the fruits of peace are even more so. Soon after the treaty of peace that closed the war in which Col. Croghan won his fame, another treaty was signed between our Nation and Great Britain, which neutralized the waters of the Great Lakes by limiting the size of the defensive vessels to be maintained upon these waters, beyond which neither nation could go. This single line of agreement has made the Great Lakes as well as the boundary line between us and Britain and her possessions here in the New World a line of friendship which has been maintained unbroken for 96 years. Had it not been for this provision these waters would today be frowned upon by mighty battleships, which would have inevitably clashed in 1860-1865 when English built ships were supplied to the Confederacy.

What has been done on the Lakes has been the dream of some statesmen of this and other countries may be done for the waters of the sea, when all the powers may join in the establishment of the court of arbitral justice, which is an American suggestion. While this is but a dream, and may never assume any nearer reality than a dream, the immediate past is a partial justification of the dream. The Hague conference was a real achievement for peace, if in no other way than to allow representatives of the twenty-six nations, including all the first-class powers, to sit under the same roof and dispassionately discuss plans of maintaining peace among the nations represented. But it achieved something more substantial in the establishment of The Hague tribunal, which, by the way, was an American suggestion. The first case to be submitted to the court was the dispute between Germany and Venezuela at the initiation of our own country. The second Hague conference gave more promise, in that, instead of twenty-six nations, forty-four were represented. It also adopted three additional resolutions, viz., strengthened The Hague tribunal by requiring any disputant opening warfare against another nation, until the willing party had a chance to be heard before the tribunal; second, it adopted the Drago doctrine, which denies to one nation to employ war methods to collect a debt, until after the case is

heard by the tribunal; third, it recommended the establishment of the court of arbitral justice.

To an American the activities leading to these conferences and the work in the conferences are most pleasing. This Nation distinctively stands for peace. Our bringing together at Portsmouth the peace commissioners of Russia and Japan is but an incident in the efforts of our Nation to reduce war. The work of the famous international peace conferences was begun by Elihu Burritt as far back as the forties. This Nation was the first to give this work governmental recognition when President McKinley requested Secretary John Hay to represent the Nation officially in the conference held at Boston. We are equally active in the work of the Interparliamentary Union.

The almost five hundred various peace associations organized in the United States among the churches, the colleges, the schools, the civic organizations, the commercial bodies indicate the awakening among us. This should be our position. If ever peace is to be established in the world permanently, we must take the initiative. Our geographical situation, our vast wealth of resource, our rank among the nations of the world all point to this fact. This does not mean we must abandon a naval program. Probably the surest guaranty of peace is the concentration of the war power in the hands of the peaceful nations, to command the peace of the world. We must always maintain a sufficient armament to police the seas, but it does not mean we must enter the insane competition of Europe to surpass all nations in the building of dreadnoughts. Our greatness will never be measured by the size of the Army, nor the number of battle ships. It will not even be measured by the acreage of our farms, the output of our mines or our factories, nor the miles of railroads. While all these are useful and the fruits of peace, yet they do not symbolize our real greatness. Greatness nationally as individually can not be measured by the bushel, nor by the yardstick, nor even can it be estimated by the dollar mark. The real greatness of a nation consists in the men and women of the nation. Its measure is the amount of character disseminated among its people. The agencies of this greatness will be largely found in the homes, the schools, the churches, the civic organizations, the numerous other agencies making for a finer sense of justice of man with man in all his activities, business, professional, social, and all that make up his everyday life.

Show me a nation that seeks this high standard and dedicates its powers of wealth and influence to this end, and I will show you a nation happy, prosperous, powerful, and the guiding, if not the dominant, power in the family of nations. God has wonderfully blessed the people of this country in many ways. The opportunity is before us. Our responsibility is clear. I believe we will fully meet every reasonable obligation placed upon us, always remembering that our greatest problems are from

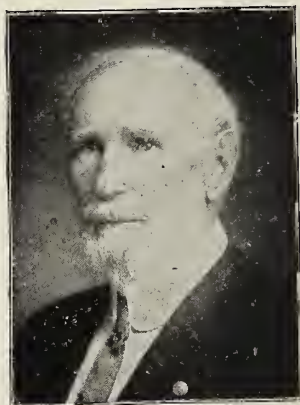
within our body politic, not from without. This argues the more that our national prosperity and happiness must be found within the dominion of a sublime manhood and a pure womanhood. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you and bid you good-by.

It was a source of much pleasure to the committee to have with them as one of the principal speakers of the day, Gen. W. R. Warnock, department commander of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic, and in introducing him, Mr. Overmyer not only voiced the sentiment and appreciation of the committee and citizens of Fremont, but also took occasion to pay a word of tribute to the G. A. R., the great order which the speaker represented.

Gen. Warnock said:

"When I received an invitation from Comrade Burgoon to come here to address you on this occasion in behalf of the G. A. R., I was exceedingly glad. When this invitation was supplemented by an invitation from Col. Hayes to be his guest as well, I was additionally glad to be able to accept. I knew something of the history of Fremont and vicinity and have many personal reasons why I am interested in this city. The 72nd regiment was in the same brigade to which I was assigned for two years. For Col. Buckland I have always felt the greatest respect as I considered him one of the safest and grandest men of the army. He was a born leader of men. I also recall with pleasure my acquaintance with Col. LeRoy Crockett of Clyde, and I have the most kindly recollections of my friendship with Maj. Eugene Rawson. Again I want to call attention to another friendship. In 1875 I was elected to the senate of Ohio at the time when Governor Hayes was just entering upon his third term. I was intimately associated with Governor Hayes, and so today with all recollections which came to me as I visited Spiegel Grove I could not but recall the memory of that gracious man, Rutherford B. Hayes. I also want to pay tribute to Mrs. Hayes, the greatest, sweetest lady who ever graced the White House.

"I also want to say a word for the G. A. R. When the gateways at Spiegel Grove were decorated they complimented the G. A. R. in the significance of their inscriptions. I am glad to accept these honorable testimonials made in behalf of the G. A. R. Think of the significance



Gen. W. R. Warnock.

of the trail and the historical value of the dates. The fact is, Fremont's on the map and has been there for over two centuries. I cannot refrain from recalling the associations of the great civil war, Major Rawson, Gen. McPherson, Capt. Kline, in command of Co. A, whom I have been glad to greet and meet again today. Scarcely one of the line officers and only two of the field officers of that regiment are now living.

An English statesman said, "The great test for the United States will come when the war is ended." He didn't know that the American soldiery was made up of farmers, business men and professional men who returned to their homes and labors better citizens than they had ever been before. As we believe that Providence raised up George Washington to lead us to independence so we believe that in that dark hour Abraham Lincoln was sent to guide us through the Civil War. What tender, mysterious nature he possessed. Today while he wears a martyr's crown he still speaks to us as he spoke at Gettysburg. It reminds me of that lesson in patriotism which was taught us 150 years ago. Great things happened in this vicinity a century ago. The brave deeds of Perry, Croghan and others of that time inspired and prompted others. The words and commands which rang from their lips have been the messages which have come down through the years and inspired succeeding generations to deeds as noble and as great."

Following Gen. Warnock, H. C. Kuntz, Grand Master of the I. O. O. F. of Ohio, was introduced. He expressed his pleasure at being able to be present at the centennial and in his brief remarks spoke eloquently of the relations between honoring Odd Fellowship and honoring the flag. The principles of patriotism are the foundation of the lodge of Odd Fellows. He also referred to the great statesmen of Ohio whose lives are exemplary of good citizenship, paying special tribute to Garfield and Hayes.

The last speaker of the afternoon was Prof. G. Frederick Wright, president of the Ohio Historical and Archaeological society.

One of the big features on Saturday's program was the grand reunion and basket picnic of the Odd Fellows at Birchard park. At least five hundred members, with their wives, families and friends, assembled in the grove after the parade and enjoyed the splendid picnic dinner at tables spread under the beautiful and stately old trees. Many brought their lunches, but those who did not because they came from points too far dis-

tant, found the Rebekah ladies ready to serve them with a delicious and bountiful repast. There were several thousand people present.

The Genoa Odd Fellows' band furnished good music during the noon hour and a part of the afternoon.

After dinner Grand Master Kuntz gave a very interesting address from the band stand on "Odd Fellowship." He was presented by Hon. John W. Worst, chairman of the Fremont committee.

Spiegel Grove, the beautiful and historic home of the late President Hayes, now occupied by Col. and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes, was thronged all day with interested visitors. The stately old family mansion was lavishly decorated with the stars and stripes. Under the fine old Reunion Oaks at the left of the house, a Play Festival and May Pole Dance was given in the late afternoon under the auspices of the Women's Federation of Clubs. The folk lore games, contests and dances were carried out by young girls and little children, music being furnished by the Ladies Band of Chicago Junction.

In the early evening band concerts were held in different portions of the city, but the crowds soon gathered on both banks of the Sandusky river and covered the old Maumee and Western Reserve bridge as well as the high trestle of the Lake Erie and Western railway whose abutments rested on the island made famous in local history by the report of Captain Brady who was sent here by General Washington during the close of the Revolutionary War to find out the disposition of the Indians, whether for war or peace. The crowd on the westerly bank stood on what was originally the course over which white prisoners were forced to run the gauntlet, and on the left a crowd occupied the site which after the famous defence of Fort Stephenson was set aside by the general government for the Lower Sandusky navy yard: The efficient Venetian Night committee then had portrayed in living fire a scene depicting the sailing up the Sandusky River of Commodore Barclay's fleet carrying Proctor's Army; the bombardment of Fort Stephenson from the fleet, and the return fire from Old Betsy during the night of the siege. Later Fort Stephenson itself was shown, as

well as the repulse of the assaulting relief column led by Lt-Col. Short, of the 41st Regt., who was killed in the ditch with many of his comrades when Old Betsy loaded with slugs and loose bullets was discharged at them at thirty feet range. Portraits of General Harrison, Commodore Perry, Major Croghan and President Hayes were also shown.



Col. Webb C. Hayes.

The city of Fremont has been notably loyal and indefatigable through the years, in keeping bright the memory of her local heroes and her heroic past. Of the many centennial celebrations the past summer, in honor of Perry's Victory and Harrison's Northwestern Campaign, none

has exceeded in interest and local enthusiasm the centennial celebration of Croghan's Defence of Fort Stephenson, at Fremont, Ohio.

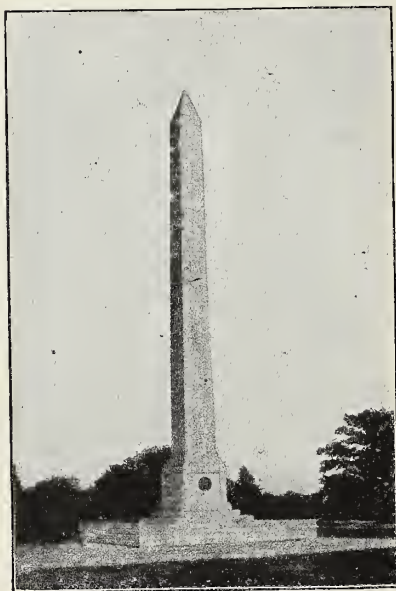


THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE SIEGE OF FORT MEIGS.

PERRYSBURG, JULY 27, 1913.

BY LUCY ELLIOT KEELER.

"Hadst thou my three kingdoms to range in," said James the First to a fly; "and yet must thou needs get into my eye?"



Fort Meigs Monument.

Which homely speech might be paraphrased for the present purpose of introduction to this subject to read: "Had Great Britain and America their vast extent of territory and all the ocean between to range in, and must they needs select the shores of comparatively insignificant rivers in the wilderness and the end of a lake where the waters of those rivers commingle, whereon to settle their respective bounds, as well as a half century of political differences?" Seemingly so; and it is the centennial celebration of these conflicts, notably two of them, those on the banks of the Maumee and the Sandusky

rivers, in northwestern Ohio,—details of the centennial celebration rather than of the historical events themselves—with which these sketches have to do; followed by the tale from another's hand of the centenary of the third in the series of notable and decisive events within the territorial limits of Ohio, Perry's Victory on Lake Erie.

The members of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society and of the Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Association were early interested in the plan for a proper historical celebration on the centennial anniversary of the two important land battles on Ohio soil, as well as of Perry's gallant victory in the Battle of Lake Erie. They were greatly encouraged on hearing the remarks of Governor Harris, delivered on the site of Fort Stephenson, August 2d, 1906, during the ceremonies incident to the reburial of Major Croghan on the fort he had so heroically defended; and by the Governor's subsequent request for information as to suitable members for the commission to have charge of the celebration of the events connected with the centenary of Perry's Victory and Harrison's Northwestern Campaign. It was therefore with considerable regret that the members of these societies learned that he had failed to follow the example of his predecessor, Governor Allen, in appointing as the Ohio commissioners to the Centennial Exposition of 1876 five of the then leading citizens of Ohio, men of national reputation and representative of every section of the State, and had apparently considered this as of local interest only. The centennial celebration of Perry's Victory, however, was of such national interest, that the remaining seven States bordering on the Great Lakes, together with Kentucky and Rhode Island, and the President of the United States, under authority of Congress, appointed commissions fitly representative of the nation and of the several States. Following the action of Congress in appropriating \$250,000, each of the States interested made liberal appropriations, thus insuring the success of the Centennial. The President of the United States interested himself to the extent of calling the attention of his National commissioners to a recent act of Congress which had authorized the appointment of a National Fine Arts Commission, composed of the leading artists of the country, and directed that the plans for the contemplated Perry Memorial should be approved by the National Fine Arts Commission; with the result that after public competition of fifty-eight architects, the beautiful design prepared by Freedlander and Seymour, associate architects, of New York was selected, the Memorial to be constructed of New England granite. Com-

mittees were appointed by the Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Association and the Mayor of Toledo for the centennial of the siege of Fort Meigs; and by the Mayor and citizens of Fremont for the centennial celebration of Croghan's defense of Fort Stephenson; in addition to the celebration of the naval battle at Put-in-Bay and the lake cities. The centennial commissions of Toledo and Fremont prepared a rather elaborate scheme for the celebration of the military events in Harrison's Northwestern Campaign at Fort Meigs and Fort Stephenson, which was favorably considered by Brig. Gen. A. L. Mills, U. S. A, chief of the militia division of the War Department, and by the Adjutant General of Ohio. The military and naval program submitted, reproduced here as a unique resume of the stirring events of a century ago, was as follows:

"The Scheme for the Centennial Celebration of the First and Second Sieges of Fort Meigs, Ball's Battle with the Indians, and the Defense of Fort Stephenson, with the aid of infantry, artillery and cavalry of the Regular Army, and light draught gunboats, with sailors and marines of the U. S. Navy, and the entire National Guard of Ohio and Michigan, to cover the period from the arrival of General Proctor's British army, on Captain Barclay's British fleet from Detroit, and their entrance into the Maumee river on July 22, preparatory to the second siege of Fort Meigs, which the British abandoned on July 27th, and sailed around to Sandusky Bay and up the Sandusky River, arriving off Fort Stephenson on July 31, where they conducted a siege of Fort Stephenson, ending in their final assault on the evening of August 2d, after which the British retreated, abandoning some of their boats and returned to Detroit.

ANNIVERSARY DATES.

First Siege of Fort Meigs, April 27 to May 9.

Second Siege of Fort Meigs, July 20 to July 28.

Battle of Ballville, July 30.

Defence of Fort Stephenson, August 1st and 2d.

"Owing to the close proximity of the battle field of Wayne's successful battle of Fallen Timbers, on the 5th of August, 1794, to the site of the Dudley massacre in the first siege of Fort Meigs on the 4th of

May, 1813, it has been thought proper to include in the celebration a reproduction of the battle of Fallen Timbers:

"First: Infantry, artillery and cavalry of the regular army to be detrained at the crossing of the Wabash with the Clover Leaf Railway on the morning of the 22d day of July, to be prepared to attack the Indians. Little Turtle to be represented in this case by Brig. Gen. W. V. McMaken and his First Brigade of the Ohio National Guard, on the battlefield of Fallen Timbers near Waterford, Lucas County, some two miles from the railway crossing. McMaken's brigade to represent the Indians in the four battles to be depicted.

"Second: The American gunboats which represent the British fleet shall leave Detroit in time to ascend the Maumee River on July 22, proceeding as far as the ruins of old Fort Miami, from which point the war ships will bombard Fort Meigs. In the meantime, troops of the regular army, after defeating Little Turtle and his Indians (McMaken's First Brigade) at the battle of Fallen Timbers, will thenceforth impersonate Proctor's British Army which was landed from the British ships at Fort Miami. Field batteries will be placed as in the siege of Fort Meigs and the siege regularly conducted as it was in May, 1813.

"At the close of the second day's bombardment by the British batteries, the Second Brigade, Ohio National Guard, commanded by Brig. Gen. J. T. Speaks, will come down the Maumee River on flat boats, impersonating General Clay's Kentucky brigade of May, 1813. One regiment of this brigade will disembark and capture one of the British batteries, and then continue their attack on Tecumseh's Indians, and be drawn into ambush and massacred on the scene of Dudley's massacre, so-called.

"After continuing the siege for another day with firing between the Americans in Fort Meigs and the British and Indians, the British will draw off and depart on board their ships to Sandusky Bay and proceed up the river to Fort Stephenson at Fremont, arriving on July 31st. McMaken and his brigade, as Indians, will march overland toward Fort Stephenson along the lake shore and up the Sandusky river. The successful American troops in Fort Meigs will march overland direct from Fort Meigs to General Harrison's headquarters at Fort Seneca, on the Sandusky river, some 30 miles. Fort Stephenson will be garrisoned by 160 men of the 17th U. S. Infantry, under a Major, the exact garrison during the siege.

"The First Squadron Cavalry, Ohio National Guard, representing Major Ball's Squadron will be sent on July 30th from Fort Seneca to Fort Stephenson to place Major Croghan in arrest for disobedience of orders in refusing to evacuate the fort, and while on their march from Fort Seneca to Fort Stephenson, they will be ambushed by Indians on the site of Ball's battlefield, where Major Ball's command killed 17 Indians with a saber charge.

"On August 1st and 2d, the British, (Regulars of the Army and Navy) will bombard Fort Stephenson from the war ships and from field batteries which have been landed, charging down on the northwest blockhouse, from the direction of the Sandusky county jail; while another column will attack the southwest blockhouse from the direction of the Presbyterian church, and the Indians will continue their fire during the two days of the siege. The larger portion of the Ohio National Guard which will not be engaged will be encamped in the Sandusky County Fair Grounds and the entire division of the Ohio National Guard and the troops of the regular army will on August 3d start on their march northwest on the old Harrison Trail to old Fort Sandoski at Port Clinton, and thence to the Camp Perry Rifle Range on the bank of Lake Erie, where they will come into camp for target practice.

"The British fleet will return down the Sandusky river during the night of August 2d, and return to Detroit."

The immediate vicinity of Toledo, Fort Meigs and Fort Miami, is the scene of the final defeat of the federated Indian tribes, by Gen. Anthony Wayne on the 5th of August, 1794, and the repulse of the combined British and Indians in their two sieges of Fort Meigs in May and July, 1813, and the final defeat of the British at Fort Stephenson on August 1st and 2d, 1813, by Major George Croghan—"the necessary precursor," as General Sherman wrote, "of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie and Harrison's triumphant victory in the Battle on the Thames."

The Ohio floods of the spring of 1913, with the appalling loss of life and property, put an end to the elaborate and expensive scheme of pageant detailed above.

The Toledo Perry Centennial¹ Committee arranged for a week of festivities, beginning Sunday, July 27th, with the arrival of Perry's old flagship the *Niagara*. Thursday, the 30th, was set apart for the crowning historical event of the region, the celebration of the centennial of the Defense of Fort Meigs, at Perrysburg, with its allied points of historic interest in and about Fort Miami, near the present village of Maumee. A committee of Perrysburg and Maumee citizens appointed by the Maumee Valley Historical Association conjointly arranged the celebration at Fort Meigs, and independently carried out the individual celebration of the two villages. This committee of arrangements was as follows: D. K. Hollenbeck, D. R. Canfield, George J. Munger, Wm. H. Rheinfrank of Perrysburg;

and M. J. Dowling, A. W. Cone, and J. C. McCutcheon of Maumee.

To assist in the celebration of the two villages on the Maumee, a party of Attorney-General Timothy Hogan, representing the Governor of Ohio, and the members of the Toledo Perry Centennial Committee made the trip from Toledo up the river by motor boat, and were received at ten o'clock at the Perrysburg landing. This landing, by the way, was the terminus eighty years ago, for most of the lake shipping from Buffalo



Approach to Fort Meigs from Perrysburg.

to northwestern Ohio. While passing Fort Miami and approaching Perrysburg, the visitors were greeted with salutes from batteries from both positions. At the landing, the party was met by a delegation headed by Mayor E. L. Clay, R. C. Pew, George Munger, Sidney Spitzer, and D. K. Hollenbeck, and accompanied by the Newsboys' Band of Toledo, numbering sixty pieces, was escorted to the rostrum at the top of the hill at the entrance to the Monument Park. The exercises were brief: an address of welcome by E. L. Blue, on behalf of the Mayor of Perrysburg, a response by the Attorney-General, who complimented Perrys-

burg on her splendid appearance and evidence of local pride as manifested by the interest in the centennial of the great defence of the Northwest Territory by the heroes of Fort Meigs. After a chorus of school children had sung "America," the visiting party was conducted through the gateway erected in honor of the occasion and taken in automobiles over the principal streets of the beautiful village and across the river to Maumee where brief exercises were held on the lawn of the St. Joseph parsonage. After an address by the Rev. Father Thomas Redding of Maumee and a response by Mr. Hogan, the party reviewed the site of the old British Fort Miami, in the enclosure of which a part of Dudley's massacre took place, and returned for brief exercises under the old Indian elm at Maumee. A procession was then formed under the escort of Mayor John Smith of Maumee, which proceeded to Fort Meigs, where the noon hour was devoted to a basket lunch. In this line of march were the Newsboys' Band and Cadets; Drill Camp Veteran Ladies of America of Toledo; Battery B, Ohio National Guard; the chorus of school children; and the visiting and reception committees.

The afternoon exercises were held in the deep ravine on the Pioneer Association property immediately to the east of the old breastworks. From the large platform in the hollow the grass-grown, tree-shaded banks slope back, forming a beautiful and impressive natural auditorium where the great assembly, a notable outpouring of the people of the whole region, listened in comfort and with profound interest to the following program:

1. Invocation—Rev. Fr. Michaelis of Cleveland, formerly of Maumee.
2. Introduction of Judge John H. Doyle of Toledo as Chairman of the meeting, by Hon. D. K. Hollenbeck, president of the Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Association.
3. Address by Hon. Timothy Hogan, Attorney General of Ohio.
4. Address by Judge Doyle of Toledo, who took the place of Gen. I. R. Sherwood who was detained by illness.
5. Recitation—Poem, "Fort Meigs" by Mrs. J. C. Gentry of Maumee.
6. Address by Judge Frank W. Baldwin of Bowling Green.
7. Music—Male Quartette.

In introducing Mrs. Gentry, the chairman referred to her distinguished ancestry. She is a great grand-daughter of Judge James Wolcott of Maumee and Mary Wells. The latter was the daughter of Capt. William Wells, a scout on the staff of Wayne, and of a full-blooded Miami Indian woman, daughter of Chief Little Turtle. At the Battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20th, 1794, Mrs. Gentry's ancestry fought on both sides: her great great grandfather, Little Turtle, leading the Miamis; and her great great grandfather, Captain Wells, in Wayne's army. Wells was killed in the Fort Dearborn (Chicago) massacre in 1813. Judge Wolcott built the first house in the Maumee Valley in 1825, of black walnut logs, long ago sided over, in which house Mrs. Gentry still lives. The poem which Mrs. Gentry read is as follows:

FORT MEIGS.

As we sit on the emerald carpet, under the whispering trees,
And gaze down the beautiful river, kissed by the lightsome breeze,
Over the grassy meadows, the wheat fields yellow and ripe,
Mellowing in the distance to a green and golden stripe,
The scene is a summer picture, and I open my history book
And the friend beside me answers, as adown the page I look:

"Yes, this is the place where Harrison, with his little band of men,
Stood firm from belching British guns and hurled it back again.
And Proctor had his redcoats there, drawn up in fierce array,
And bold Tecumseh's savages were allies in the fray;
Red-handed from the vine-hung banks of Raisin's bloody tide,
They thirsted for more massacre, and watched on every side
From thicket bush, from tops of trees, to turn the murderous shot;
But still the stubborn fortress stood, the Patriots faltered not.

"'Surrender!' came the haughty word; swift flew the answer back,
'If you capture us, Sir Briton, the victory shall not lack
The honor of a meeting, face to face and hilt to hilt,
With your men upon the ramparts and many a heart's blood spilt.'

"Three days without cessation the sweet May air was rife
With thunder of the cannon and moans of parting life.
Then floating down the river came the staunch Kentucky men,
Twelve hundred strong, on flat boats, and hope revived again.
And where the bees were humming in clover white and sweet,
There gallant Clay made landing with his welcome southern fleet.

But oh! what fire raked them from the mad Miami guns!
But oh! with what defiance marched up those fearless ones.

'And there swept Colonel Dudley with his dauntless fighting band,
Keen eyed and lion hearted to answer the command,
'Charge Bayonets!' 'O river, murmuring to the flowery shore,
Can you tell us just how many smote the earth to rise no more?
But the foemen fled in terror, and the patriots on their track
Thus were led into an ambush, whence there was no turning back.

"Fatal error! quick surrounded, there they yielded up their lives,
Cleft by savage battle-axes and the whetted scaping knives.
'Stay the slaughter!' cried Tecumseh, rushing on the dreadful scene;
(For that order lay one laurel on his dust and keep it green.)
Down the southern bank Clay's soldiers charged the worsted foe again,
Spiked their guns and took their batteries, and made captives of their
men.

Nine long days e'er stubborn Proctor owned the whipping he had got
Moved his soldier camp and marched his soldiers to a safe and sheltered spot."

"What was gained?" "Forever after that decisive victory,
Fear of the revengeful savage faded from the old Maumee.
They had turned the name to terror all along the wooded shore;
Day and night the vigil ceased not, loaded rifle guarded door;
Day and night the wild cry sounded, homes fell to a mouldering heap,
Wives were widowed, men were tortured, children murdered in their
sleep.

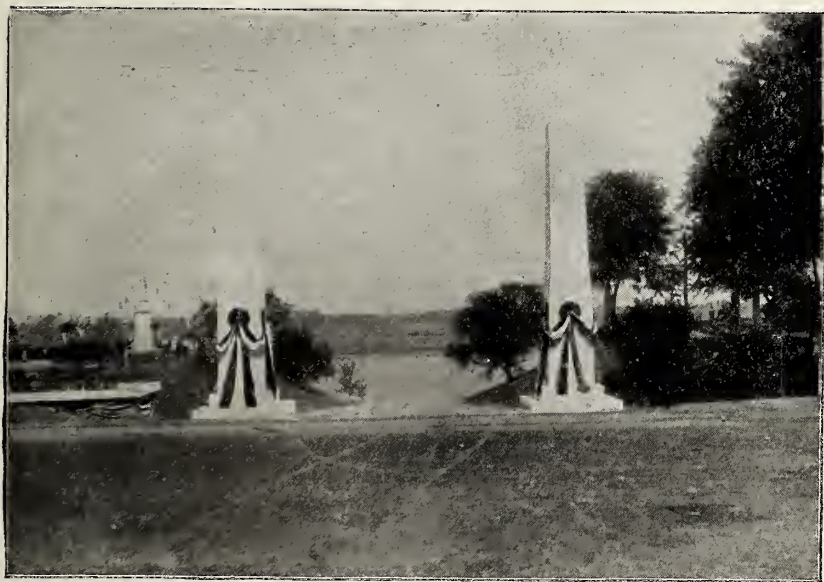
Now the heavy cloud was lifted, and the wary savage foe,
Shrank away from English friendship that but added to their woe.
Then there dawned for fair Miami first rays of the coming morn,
And the poor man's stumpy acres blossomed into fields of corn."

Thus my history lesson ended, and my every pulse was stirred,
By the lovely scene before me and what I had read and heard,
And on the grassy blood-rich soil, by the storied river's flow,
You have reared a memory token for that time of long ago,
A monument of meaning from base to crowning dome,
That shall bring to the minds of the future
The days that are past and gone.

A distinctive note of the several speakers of the afternoon, standing so near to the old battleground, was the expression of approval of the use of arbitration rather than arms in settling disputes between the United States and England during the past

one hundred years, and the hope that this country had engaged in its last war. Attorney General Hogan, representing the Governor of Ohio, urged the people to show their patriotism by giving intelligent support to the government which was made possible by the deeds of the men who engaged in the War of 1812. He said: "This monument tells what those heroes underwent. The service that we can render is to inspire others with a greater respect for the government under which we live."

Judge Doyle, the chairman of the day, gave a concise survey



The Gateway to Perrysburg—Centennial Columns.

of the history of the Maumee Valley from 1640, when it was marked as unknown on the first French map of North America. He concluded his address with a tribute to Perry who made possible by his victory the later terms of peace.

Judge Baldwin of Bowling Green said that the best part of the centenary celebration was that it began with a peace meeting, and that it was his hope that the hundred years of peace between the English speaking nations were only the beginning of perpetual peace in the world.

The two villages vied with each other in their decorations. Perrysburg never looked prettier, Mr. N. L. Henson in charge of the street decoration showing commendable judgment. In addition to the columns erected on the hill at the head of Main Street, the entire lengths of Front, Second and Main Streets were decorated with streamers of one design. Public buildings, business houses and private residences were elaborately decorated, scarcely a building on the whole line of march that did not have at least the American flag in evidence. Another indication of the general enthusiasm throughout the village was the fact that double the amount of funds needed to carry out the plans of the committee was easily raised. Maumee everywhere showed the deep interest and pride its people took in decorating its streets and homes in honor of the occasion. The American flag waved over both Forts Meigs and Miami. Around the stage of the speakers' stand tricolored streamers and flags were lavishly draped.

A word as to the ownership of the historic land about Fort Meigs. Some nine acres of the site is owned by the Maumee Valley Pioneer and Historical Association and thirty-five acres by the State of Ohio. The State's property is in the hands of a commission composed of five members one of whom is appointed each year for a term of five years. The Association was the pioneer in the purchase of the Fort property, its members were instrumental in inducing the State to purchase its land and to erect the granite shaft that marks the spot, and its members have thus far been the appointees on the State commission. The Association is incorporated.

Old Fort Miami, on the northerly side of the Maumee river, near the village of Maumee was elaborately decorated and partially restored so that the section of Battery B, Ohio National Guard, was enabled to present a very fair reproduction of the fort as it was when occupied by the British army under Proctor during the first siege of Fort Meigs, April 27-May 10, 1813. This Fort Miami is often confused with the earlier Fort Miami erected and fought over at the headwaters of the Maumee River at what is now Fort Wayne, Indiana, the name of the older fort having been changed to Fort Wayne. Maumee is

doubtless but a phonetic spelling of the Indian pronunciation of Mi-a-mi. Our Fort Miami was an old French trading place and like all such in the earlier days was strongly built for the protection of its occupants, but was never utilized as a military post until 1786, three years after the close of the Revolutionary War, evidence that notwithstanding the treaty of peace the British did not consider the Revolutionary War closed, nor that a new nation had been born. For Miami continued to be occupied as a British post, its officers encouraging the Indians to war on the new nation, until nearly two years after Wayne's great victory over the Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers on the 20th of August, 1794. An interesting and peppery exchange of notes occurred immediately after the battle between General Wayne and the British commandant in command at Fort Miami, in which it must be acknowledged that the young British officer made answer in a soldierly way. The British excuse for retaining possession of Detroit and its contiguous subposts on the Maumee and on the Sandusky was that the Americans had not lived up to that section of the treaty guaranteeing protection to persons and property of the Tory Americans whom they termed loyalists. As a result of Wayne's victory and of further negotiations, the British evacuated Detroit and Fort Miami in 1796,* and Fort Miami was not reoccupied by them until during the first siege of Fort Meigs when General Proctor sailed up the Maumee to attack General Harrison at Fort Meigs, accompanied by an immense hoard of Indians under Tecumseh, probably the largest body of Indians ever engaged against the Americans. General Proctor reoccupied and reconstructed Fort Miami and used it as the British headquarters during the entire siege. Colonel Dudley's Kentucky militiamen, carried away by the prospects of an easy victory and by their desire to avenge the loss of so many gallant Kentuckians in Winchester's expedition and the massacre of the River Raisin, made a gallant charge

* It was Wayne's happy privilege to take peaceful possession, by authority of President Washington, of this fort, early in 1796, when the British government surrendered the northern posts. Wayne's reception of Ft. Miami was one of his last official acts, occurring only a few months before his death.

but were drawn into an ambuscade; and of some eight hundred men nearly six hundred and fifty were killed or captured. Many of the prisoners were brought within the pickets enclosing Fort Miami and then ensued the merciless slaughter of defenseless prisoners by their Indian captors, under the very eye of Proctor, the commanding general, whose indifference to the scene brought down on his head the savage denunciation of the great Tecumseh: "Begone, you are unfit to command, go and put on petticoats." On the withdrawal of General Proctor's forces after his repulse in the first siege of Fort Meigs, the British flag over it was drawn down for probably the last time, as the British did not land any considerable force during the second siege of Fort Meigs, July 20-28, 1813.

After the disgraceful surrender of Detroit by General Hull, August 16, 1812, General Harrison, in order to protect Ohio from an invasion of British and Indians made a careful inspection of the territory contiguous to the mouth of the Maumee and selected the site for a large garrison force, near the fording place at the foot of the rapids, on the opposite side of the river from the old British Fort Miami and slightly further up stream. The fort he christened Fort Meigs in honor of the Governor of Ohio, Return Jonathan Meigs. He wrote in February, 1813: "I am erecting here a pretty strong fort, capable of resisting field artillery at least. The troops will be placed in a fortified camp, covered on one flank by the fort. This is the best position that can be taken to cover the frontier and the small posts in the rear of it, and those above it on the Maumee and its tributaries." The fort was planned by Major Gratiot, whose illness, however, prevented his presence, and by Major Eleazer D. Wood, the actual constructor. Both these distinguished engineers were among the earliest graduates of the U. S. Military Academy, established at West Point in 1802. General Clay arriving with reinforcements, divided his forces, as directed by Harrison, sending out the greater part under Dudley to silence the batteries on the west bank; his remaining force fighting its way through the Indians into Fort Meigs. A sallying party from the fort then captured the British batteries on the east side of the river and the great siege was over. Pres-

ident Madison, through the Secretary of War and General Harrison, sent his "thanks to the troops composing the garrison of Fort Meigs for their valor and patriotism." *

"The value of this defense of Fort Meigs," says Mr. Saliers, "cannot be easily overestimated. Had Harrison been defeated and his army captured, the road to Upper Sandusky would have been open to Proctor and his Indian allies. Here large stores of provisions would have fallen into his hands. The final invasion and recapture of Michigan would have been materially delayed, if not entirely prevented, and the frontier would have been ravaged again by the savages. So little notice has been taken of this event, that it was an extremely welcome act of the General Assembly of Ohio that authorized the purchase of the site of Fort Meigs and converted it into a public park where a splendid monument has been erected to the memory of the General and the men who defended it." The above writer should have added that the gallant check to the British at Fort Meigs, on the Maumee, was consummated on land by the victorious battle at Fort Stephenson, on the sister river of the Maumee, the Sandusky, at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, Ohio, which engagement is detailed in earlier pages.

In the interest of historic accuracy we wish to insert here a note to the effect that Peter Navarre, the famous and successful scout for General Harrison, did not, as is often stated, carry any message from General Harrison at Fort Meigs to Major Croghan at Fort Stephenson on the evening of August 1st; for the simple reason that Harrison was not at Fort Meigs on that date, but was in command of his army, with headquarters at Fort Seneca on the Sandusky river, nine miles south of Fort

* For details of the whole siege, rather of the two sieges of Fort Meigs and of the events leading up to them we refer to an excellent article in Vol. XVIII of this Quarterly, by E. A. Saliers, of the Ohio State University. A much fuller account is in Knapp's "History of the Maumee Valley." Knapp is most praiseworthy for his historical methods in giving in full general orders, dispatches, reports and letters, rather than the too-frequent plan of many writers in making excerpts of mere items bearing on the subject, often twisting them unconsciously out of their literal bearing.—L. E. K.

Stephenson, where he was urging forward Governor Meigs with the Ohio Militia, to join him for the relief of Croghan.

The incident that probably gave rise to this erroneous statement is that during the first siege of Fort Meigs, in May, Navarre discovered the Indians crossing the Maumee at the foot of the island and reported it to General Harrison who sent him out with three letters, one to Lower Sandusky—weeks before the arrival there of Croghan; one to Upper Sandusky; and a third to Governor Meigs at Urbana. Navarre departed and at the close of the fifth day handed the final despatch to the Governor.

One of the most notable and attractive features of the whole Centennial Celebration along the lake cities and villages, was the exhibit at the Toledo Art Museum of battle paintings, portraits and relics. A rare and costly collection had been loaned by institutions at Washington, New York, Columbus and the West Point and Annapolis Academies. Two rooms fitted up as a kitchen and a bedroom of 1812 were furnished entirely with original antiques of the period. The portraits of the heroes of the War of 1812, many of them spirited likenesses by Jarvis, and the splendid collection of pictures of the engaging ships, the veritable "Don't Give up the Ship" flag and numberless personal relics of Perry and Harrison and other war heroes, were viewed with enthusiasm by many thousands of visitors to this classically beautiful and admirably conducted Art Museum.



THE CENTENNIAL OF PERRY'S VICTORY.

BY G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

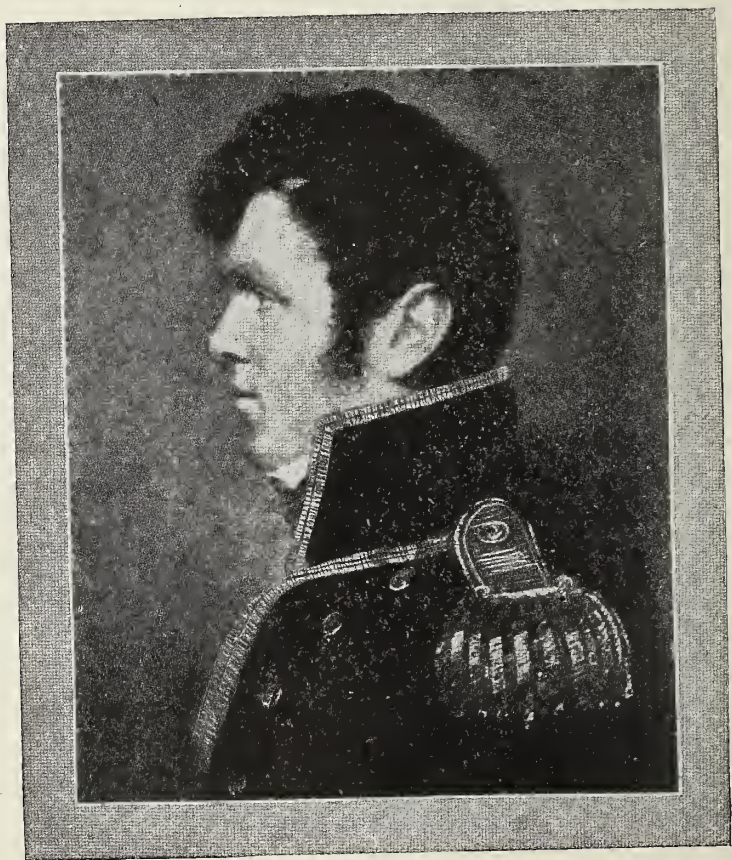
President Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

At a quarter before twelve o'clock, September 10, 1812, the first gun was fired in the memorable naval victory of the American fleet in Lake Erie under the command of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry over the English fleet commanded by Commodore Robert H. Barclay. As time passes the significance of this victory assumes greater, and greater proportions in the eyes of all students of history. The significance of the combat, however, does not consist in the size of the contending fleets or of the numbers of the seamen and soldiers who were engaged. The British ships were only six in number, and bore only sixty-three carriage guns, one on a pivot, two swivels, and four Howitzers. Perry's ships though numbering nine vessels bore but fifty-four carriage guns and two swivels. On the British ships there were but 500 men, and upon the American but 490, of whom 116 were sick. But when at three o'clock in the afternoon the flag of the British squadron was lowered and the entire force surrendered to Commodore Perry, a turning point had been reached in the history of North America.

General Harrison, with an army of several thousand volunteers, had been awaiting the turn of events for some time at Fort Seneca, nine miles south of Fort Stevenson, where Major Croghan on the 3d of August won his remarkable victory over the combined force of the British and Indians under General Proctor. Croghan's victory and the retreat of Proctor's army opened the way for Harrison to move his forces nearer to the Lake shore so as to be prepared for such action as should be dependent upon the outcome of the approaching naval contest. It was while effecting this movement of his troops that Harrison received the laconic report of Commodore Perry: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner,

and one sloop. Yours, with great respect and esteem, O. H. Perry."

The sequel is well known. General Harrison proceeded to haul his arms and supplies across the portage from the head of



Oliver Hazard Perry.

Sandusky Bay to the shore of Lake Erie at Port Clinton, built a fence across the neck of Marblehead Peninsula where his 5,000 cavalry and mounted infantry, mostly from Kentucky, could leave their horses in good pasture, while Perry's ships conveyed the army to the Canadian shore enabling them completely to

roust the British army at the Battle of the Thames on the 5th of October.

As was mentioned by a number of the speakers at the Centennial celebration, the destruction of the British fleet upon Lake Erie determined the future of all the northwestern territory, now a part of the United States, west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River. Had the victory been with Commodore Barclay, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa and the Dakotas, instead of being states of the Union would have been provinces in the Dominion of Canada.

It was fitting, therefore, that the Centennial celebration of this victory should be one of the most memorable in our history. Nine states had contributed liberally for the erection of the noble monument which at Put-in-Bay, where Perry's fleet had been assembled, looks out upon the waters to the northwest where the celebrated naval contest was waged. Eight of the governors of these states, each with his staff and numerous distinguished citizens, were present to give dignity to the exercises. The Governor of New York (Sulzer) sent his regrets, saying that he was detained by unavoidable circumstances.

As the time approached for the celebration to begin, the harbor at Put-in-Bay was crowded with steamers and yachts which had come in from every direction, all decorated in commemoration of the occasion. But attention was chiefly directed to the Niagara, the flag ship of Commodore Perry. This ship after various experiences had sunk in the harbor of Erie, Pennsylvania, and there remained for nearly a hundred years. But in preparation for this Centennial celebration the hulk had been raised and the ship put in repair on its original lines so that as it appeared it was an exact duplicate of it as it entered the engagement a hundred years ago. At exactly a quarter to twelve o'clock, September 10, 1913, marking a hundred years since the first gun of the engagement was fired, twenty-one cannon fired salutes from half a dozen naval militia ships riding at anchor in the bay, and the gavel fell in the coliseum where a great assemblage had gathered in honor of the event.

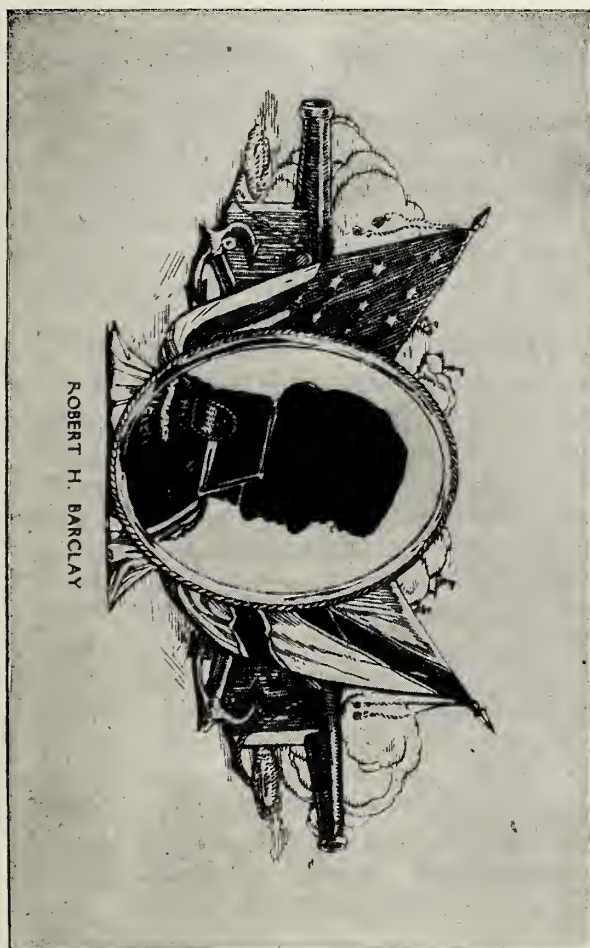
George H. Worthington of Cleveland, President of the Perry's Victory Centennial Commissioners, called the assemblage

to order and introduced Governor James M. Cox of Ohio as chairman of the meeting. In introducing ex-President Taft, who was to be the principal speaker, Governor Cox spoke as follows:

"One hundred years ago, from this very hour, within sight of the island on which we assemble, the naval forces of two great nations were in the bitter clash of war. Today representatives of the same great powers congregate in peace. A century ago it was the conflict of passion, today the fraternity of brothers. The flags of both fleets were then enveloped in the fire of powder and the crash of canister; today, sated by the blood of many battles, and glorified by the valor of new generations, they stand together majestic symbols of a common ancestry. Then the waters ran red with the gory price of battle and chanted a solemn requiem to many brave souls; today they reflect the blue of heaven and sing aloud the hallelujahs of peace. Then the issue of war drove men together in a spirit of destruction; now the impulse of a greater day assembles their sons in a conclave of good will. What a tribute these changing scenes are to the evolution of the race!

The Commonwealth of Ohio, proud of her contribution to our national life, rejoices in the glorious honor of this day, of bidding welcome to the envoys of two nations, and joining with them in the formal dedication of this magnificent temple of peace. We are not here to exult over a victory of war. The victories of peace achieved on this day, September 10, 1913, inspire emotions that give place to no thought of the bitterness of a hundred years ago. A century of peace is more glorious in the imagination of man than the combined valor of all the warriors of all time. We stand close to the longest boundary line on the globe—not marked nor marred by fortress, unprofaned by either cannon or bayonet. Poets may sing the virtues of our race, but this is its greatest achievement.

It seems almost divine arrangement that here, within sight of the islands of Canada, there should be builded on this day, the centenary of peace, a light to shine throughout the everlasting nights of time, as a beacon guide to the crafts of nations, and the conscience of the ages. Here we bury together the remains



of American and British sailors who died in the battle of Lake Erie. It matters not that their sacred bones are without national identity. They were heroes, every one! They sprang from the loins of a common ancestry. The infinite alchemy of time will mix their dust in this historic urn, and the priceless treasure belongs alike to the American Republic, to England and to Canada.

God grant that this mutuality of interest will inspire greater things, and that the greatest Republic and her dependencies, and the greatest Empire and her dependencies, joining hands across the seas, will cricle the globe and as messengers of peace control, within their span, the even balanced amity of all nations, by maintaining forever the creed of, "Peace on earth, good will to men."

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT.

Address of William H. Taft at the dedication of the Perry Memorial at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, September 10, 1913, the centenary of the battle of Lake Erie:

A century ago today this Bay was made famous by a battle. Today we meet to dedicate a great and beautiful monument to those who took part. Rhode Island that gave us Perry, and all the States that furnished the brave men who fought under him, are properly represented here to claim a share in the honorable heritage of glory. In the retrospect of one hundred years we can weigh its significance. Nothing has developed in those years to diminish the courage, patriotism and skill of the Commander and his men as they appeared to their contemporaries. But the consequences of the battle and the war, of which it was one of the few bright spots in a field of gloom, were strikingly beneficent, and promise to grow even more so in the second century upon which we are entering.

But let me now refer to the men who built the fleet, who equipped and armed the ships, who gave their crews such training and discipline as they had, who led the fighting from the decks of two flagships and wrested victory from what seemed certain defeat.

Oliver Hazard Perry was born in Rhode Island on the 23rd of August, 1785. His maternal great grandfather, whose name

he bore, was a Quaker, and he was not the first or the last of the descendants of that peace-loving stock who have become noted in the world's history as military heroes. His father was a sea captain who had fought for his country in battles upon sea and land in the Revolution, had been through the awful horrors of the Jersey prison ships, had escaped, had again been captured and imprisoned for eighteen months in Ireland, and during his long life, thereafter, had alternated as an officer of the United States Navy and as the master of merchantmen. His son thus inherited the love of the sea, and entered the Navy as a midshipman before he was fourteen years of age. His mind was active, he was interested in his profession, and he devoted himself to perfecting his knowledge of navigation and the military art. I shall not dwell upon the details of his history, crowded as it is with his activities. He sought in vain a command of one of the small ships of the navy which was constructed in a hurry for war service on the ocean of 1812. He finally found his opportunity in the construction and promised command of a fleet at Erie, with a view to taking from England the control of this important inland sea. The difficulties he had in getting the proper material for the construction, equipment and armament of his vessel, much of which had to be hauled through the wilderness from Albany and Pittsburg, would itself form a story of official energy and devotion noteworthy in the annals of any country. The indifference of his superiors to his incessant demand for sailors and marines sufficient to man his vessels, and their utter inconsistency in pressing him before he was prepared to take the offensive, rouse one's deep impatience as he reads; but the event in the light of his difficulties served to show the greatness of the man and his genius for adapting himself to the exigencies of the hour. A substantial part of his force were on the sick list, and he had to metamorphose a considerable percentage of brave sharpshooting pioneer Kentuckians into jack tars in a few days. His capacity for training and disciplining was striking. As we read the tonnage of his fleet and the number of men that he had to fight, and compare his armament with that which would go into a modern naval battle between great nations, we wonder at the smallness of the elements

of such a world-wide victory, but when we note the almost hand-to-hand fight in which he was engaged, the awful percentage of slaughter upon the deck of his flagship rendering her helpless, his passage from one vessel to the other in an open boat, exposed



Perry's Flag Ship "Niagara."

to the direct fire from the decks of these vessels at hardly pistol range, and then note how he took a second flagship and bore down upon his two formidable assailants, in the half exhausted condition in which his own attacks had left them, and made them strike their colors in ten minutes, we see one worthy to rank

with Nelson and all the great naval commanders in history. When he fought the battle he was not quite twenty-eight years of age, the age of Napoleon at Lodi and Arcola, and of Nelson at Cape St. Vincent.

It is difficult to read his life without falling in love with his personality. His disposition was sweet and attractive. He united with this, however, a stern sense of duty in the discipline he maintained. He was as severe upon himself as upon any member of his crew. High strung and quick to resent insult or injustice, he was chivalrous to the last degree in waiving what was due him in order to help a friend or avoid embarrassment of his superiors at critical junctures. In the hour of victory he manifested a charity toward the defects of some of his comrades who became basely treacherous and ungrateful, and he suffered the pangs that come to a sensitive nature from the poisoned shafts of envy and malice and personal betrayal. Exalted to the position of a national hero, to which a victory like his in the gloom of general defeat and disappointment naturally brought him, he bore his honors with a modesty that adds to one's love of his memory. Guilty, under great provocation, of threatening assault upon a subordinate officer, he did penance by a quick apology and subsequently met him upon the so-called field of honor, received his fire without return, not, as he said, in order to satisfy the honor of his assailant, but rather in penance for his violation of his duty as a commander and his breach of naval discipline.

In his hour of victory, too, he devoted all the influence that he had to securing the parole of his gallant antagonist who had been an officer under Nelson, and succeeded in restoring him to his English home without subjecting him to the suffering and privation of imprisonment. He had much to contend against in naval bureaucracy at Washington, much to complain of in its failure to support him at times of stress, but throughout his short and brilliant career, he maintained the highest level of equanimity, patriotism and devotion to duty.

Upon his thirty-fourth birthday Oliver Hazard Perry passed from this earth, the victim of a tropical fever, at the mouth of the Orinoco. He had been sent as a naval ambassador to deal

with the Venezuelán government at Angoxtura, far up that great river under the equator, at a time when a temporary residence there was as full of danger as even a naval battle in that age. His suffering in the stifling heat and amid the clouds of stinging insects in the narrow confines of a small cabin of a small schooner is hard for us to appreciate, in view of the conditions that surround such missions at the present day. But we find the gloomy atmosphere of that dark cabin illuminated by his inmost thoughts committed to writing, in which he manifests his high ideals of manhood, of many virtues, of patriotism and self-sacrifice; and we lay down the record of his life and drop a tear upon its tragic closing, thousands of miles away from that loving wife who was fondly and impatiently awaiting his return. We can truly place him among the great heroes of history, and thank God for the beneficence of his great example.

He was a product of a war that added but few to the list of our national heroes. With the name of Perry we may put Jackson and Harrison and McDonough as military commanders and men who upheld the honor of the nation and its prestige as a warlike people. There were commanders of single vessels like Decatur and Lawrence and Porter, who brought recognition to the little navy of the United States, and showed that they came of the same race as Nelson, but their victories were not productive of great military result in the sense of giving command of territory or ending a campaign. It is true that the naval duels of single vessels, in which Americans were successful, did much to injure the then commanding prestige of the British navy, and the activity of the navy of the regular United States establishment and of the privateers inflicted such injuries upon British commerce as to be one of the chief reasons for the willingness of England to make peace, but the naval battles were hand to hand conflicts, and did not involve the exercise of grand strategy or the subjugation of armies.

The consequences of a war are frequently not at all in proportion to the men engaged, the losses in killed and wounded, the destruction in property, or the cost. Our late war with Spain was comparatively bloodless, and the number of battles was small, yet the consequences were momentous. They changed

the status of our government among nations. They widened our relations into those of a great world power, controlling territory in two hemispheres; and they thrust upon us a duty to alien peoples that we could not escape, and that if we recognize our proper obligations, we can not relieve ourselves from in several generations.

And so the War of 1812, ending by mutual consent because of a tired feeling on the part of both countries, left no definite disposition of the question that caused the war in the treaty that closed it. Yet the right of search was abandoned by England, and under a treaty made three years later neither nation has for a century fortified the four thousand miles of the boundary between them, or floated war ships on the great stretches of water that mark it. No one would have been so bold, when the treaty was signed, to prophesy this consequence.

Three times at least has amity between the two peoples been brought nearly to a breaking test. The Oregon boundary dispute, when the cry in this country was "fifty-four forty or fight," almost led the two nations to arms again. Through the statesmanship of Daniel Webster and Lord Ashbarten, a new treaty was made and ratified, and the danger was passed.

Again, in the Mason and Slidall affair during the Civil War, we were guilty of the same fault toward England that she on her part had so often committed against us before the War of 1812. The Trent affair might have led to consequences that we hate to contemplate, but through the wisdom of our beloved Abraham Lincoln, and of the good Queen Victoria, that danger passed.

And then again over the Venezuelan boundary our declarations were so positive and undiplomatic in demanding an arbitration and in enforcing the Monroe Doctrine, that it seemed difficult to find a way out and satisfy the *amour propre* of both countries. Better counsels prevailed, and the treaty of Ghent still stood.

So we celebrate the centenary of this battle, not in the spirit of a triumphal victory of arms, but in the deep gratitude that one hundred years has not seen its repetition. No historical review can give as much satisfaction to him that hopes for per-

manent, international peace, as the contrast between the attitude of the two peoples then and now. England's attitude was that of resentment at having lost her most important colonies, of contempt for republican form of government, of the spirit of reaction from popular rule manifested later by Metternich and the Congress of Vienna, and of intolerance as mistress of the seas in which she recognized no right on the part of the navy or sailors of the United States which her predominating navy was bound to respect. Our attitude was that of a people still struggling for national strength and unity, and greatly divided in sentiment by political lines, in respect of the war. Seafaring New England saw her commerce being carried to destruction by embargoes and legalized piracy in the form of privateering, and could not understand why England should be selected as our sole antagonist, while France, who had equally ignored our rights upon the sea, and outraged our national feeling, was permitted to take her course without any hostile measure. They believed that the war was entered upon without sufficient consideration, and that the real sacrifices in the war were to be made by New England in undue proportion. The truth is, while the war was entirely justified by the injustice of England in asserting an intolerable claim to the right of search, we study its campaigns and its battles with only here and there a thrill of pride and satisfaction, but generally with irritation over our mismanagement, poor strategy, wastefulness and lack of successful concerted action. The victories of Perry here, of Harrison at the Thames, of McDonough at Plattsburgh, and of Jackson at New Orleans, are the great bright lights that shine out of a dark background of defeat and humiliation. We find the spirit of booty and plunder attracting regular naval vessels and eager privateers on each side to prey upon the commerce of the other. A cruel, sordid spirit sometimes manifested itself in the actual transactions on both sides that leaves a bad flavor for the historical student.

To those who say there will always be war, and that one hundred years can make no difference in the possibility or probability of recurring international combats, we might well commend the difference in the real spirit that prevailed between the

United States and Canada and Great Britain one hundred years ago just after the war, and that which prevails today. Indeed, we might go further and commend to their consideration the contrast between the warlike policies of European nations when Perry lived, and the peace securing effect of the entente cordial between Great Britain and France, or of the dual alliance between Russia and France, and of the triple alliance between Germany and Austria and Italy and the efforts of all the substantial European nations to bring about peace in the Balkans. The effort now among these great nations is much less for forcible aggrandizement, so conspicuous a feature of their national sins one hundred years ago. War now rarely comes save when the people of a nation yield to the warlike spirit and urge their leaders on, and the danger of war is from the passion of the people and not from the ambition of their rulers. It was in many respects exactly the opposite case, one hundred years ago. We need not say that the great nations are not still selfish in their statesmanship, and that there is not room for much greater altruism and much greater self-sacrifice for humanity than exist today, but speaking comparatively, the restraints upon the nations of a moral character in their foreign policy are far weightier than ever they were in the century past. This is due to an improvement in government. The success of popular rule in the United States exercised a potent influence in every country in Europe. There is no European monarch today who does not feel the force of public opinion, who does not respect it, and who would not prefer to yield to its demands. A monarch who goes into a war today knows that his own sovereignty is in the balance and that by defeat his dynasty may be forfeit. Hence the sincere reluctance of all the responsible powers to engage in war.

Everything is not as we would have it. The armaments of Europe are burdensome to an unjustifiable degree. I doubt if they are heavier when the taxable resources and the population are considered than they were in olden times, but measured in the money of today they seem greatly heavier. Still their cost in themselves constitutes a drug upon the warlike passions of rulers and of people and the enormous sacrifice that war entails

and the extravagance of the financial losses that it involves, due to the necessity of such armaments and their renewal in case of war, all make for peace, and all lead to the furnishing of some solution by compromise of the controversies between nations. This different attitude toward war has bettered the relations of all the responsible nations of the world, has elevated the profession of diplomacy from a game of cunning to advocacy by moral argument and an appeal to the sense of justice of the civilized world.

Lord Haldane, the Lord High Chancellor of England, at the recent meeting of the American Bar Association, drew a contrast that was full of sweetness and light on the subject of international relations. The subject matter of his address was what he described by the use of the German phrase "*Sittlichkeit*." It is that code of good conduct which has neither sanction of law on the one hand, and which is not included within the jurisdiction and penalty of personal conscience, on the other. It is the influence of settled social opinion upon personal conduct. It is what one's neighbor will say, in its effect upon a man's mode of life and upon everything that he does before his fellows. It is sometimes described as good form, a breach of which subjects him to criticism of which he can not but be conscious, and which he must anticipate if he departs from the path society marks. And this sanction of good conduct Lord Haldane found to be growing among the nations and had greater influence for good among groups of peoples. He instanced England, Canada and the United States with their common origin, laws and language, as one such group. He thought that other nations similarly related were developing social codes of good international conduct. These, he said, were created without formal treaties, without rigid resolutions, without an international police force.

Treaties also are useful even though they may sometimes not stand the test and may be broken; but they are useful because they embody statements of high ideals of good international behavior. Sometimes they anticipate it and help to form it. Sometimes they follow it and merely formulate it. The instrumentality of neither of these influences is to be ignored in the improvement toward better relations between nations and

an approximation of the same moral responsibility for nations in dealing with each other that both good form and law impose upon individuals dealing with each other in society. It will always be a source of regret to me that when England and France were willing to enter into general and unlimited arbitration treaties with us, and the treaties were signed, they failed for lack of ratification by the Senate. They would not have made war any less probable between us and either England or France than it is today, perhaps, because it does not seem possible in any event, but they would have put in substantial form the actual spirit of our friendship for these countries and would have held up an example of inestimable value to the civilized world. Just so the century of natural good will and trust evidenced in our undefended boundary reaching from ocean to ocean makes an object lesson to the nations that grows more powerful as the decades pass.

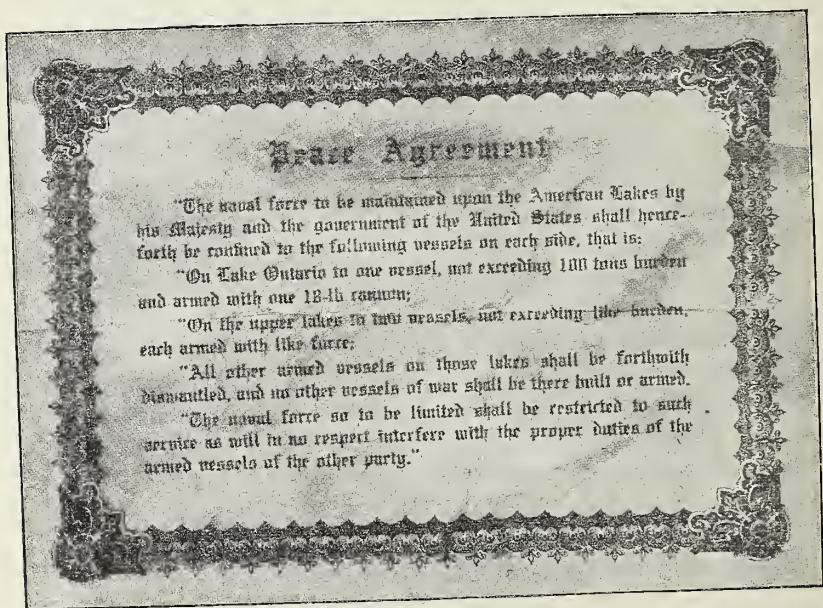
And so we are here today to mark the rearing of this beacon light of perpetual peace upon this unsalted sea that serves the commerce of two great peoples. Little could Perry have thought in the struggle that he had in building his puny fleet, in the stress he was under in the height of the battle, in the victory that he announced in his famous words to General Harrison, that his work would be remembered for one hundred years as the harbinger of a perpetual peace; and while we venerate the energy, the integrity, the skill, the patriotism, the self-sacrifice that brought him and his men their great triumph, today we cherish not so much its evidence of American manhood and love of country as the teaching that its memory brings to the world of the practical possibility of unending love and peace between international neighbors.

ADDRESS OF HON. JAMES A. McDONALD.

Dr. James A. McDonald of Toronto, Canada, followed ex-President Taft, with the following address:

One hundred years ago today, within sight of the spot where we now stand, and at this very hour, was being fought the battle of Lake Erie.

In the light of modern naval warfare, judged by the standard of the super-dreadnought and the submarine, of the airship and the fourteen-inch gun, that battle was a small affair. Nine small sailing vessels on one side, six on the other, not more than three out of the fifteen being of any account even in that day, and not a thousand men all told, of whom the major part were not seamen at all—such were the forces that met in the battle of Lake Erie. One gun from a modern man-of-war would throw



more metal in one charge than their entire broadsides, and would shatter both fleets in the twinkling of an eye.

As a struggle between man and man, and as an incident in the war of which it formed a part, the battle of Lake Erie has its own interest and its own importance. It deserves to be remembered. In the heroism displayed, heroism on both sides, heroism in the seasoned sailors, heroism among the raw men from the shore, it is worthy of a place of high honor in these centennial celebrations. Like the equally decisive battles in which the Canadians were victorious, the battles of Chrysler's Farm and of Chateaugay, this battle of Lake Erie, which gave

victory to the Americans, had in it incidents of valor and endurance on both sides of which neither country needs to be ashamed.

In the light of the hundred years through which we of to-day read the story of that one battle, and of that whole war, the lesson, the supreme and abiding lesson, for the United States and for Canada, is this: the utter futility and inconsequence of war as a means for the just settlement of disputes between these two nations. That lesson we both have learned. That war was our last war. It will remain our last. Never again will the armored troops of the United States and Canada meet except in friendly review, or, if the day ever comes, to stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder in the Armageddon of the nations. Witness these great lakes for nigh a hundred years swept clean of every battleship, and this transcontinental boundary line for four thousand miles undefended save by the civilized instincts and the intelligent good-will of both nations. And having learned that great lesson, having proved its worth through a hundred years, the United States and Canada, these two English-speaking peoples of America, have earned the right to stand up and teach the nations. International peace and good-will is America's message to all the world.

Go back to the battle of Lake Erie. Read the impartial story of that war. Mark how futile it was, how inconsequent, even how inglorious. See how it left unsettled the points alleged to be in dispute between Britain and the United States—rights of neutrals in war, the right of search, the unfixed boundary—points which were settled after the war was over by agreement and treaty, and not by brute force.

What lay behind the War of 1812? That war was declared by the United States against Britain. Its primal cause, however, was not American at all, but European. The United States was involved only indirectly and Canada not at all. The vital issue lay rather in the struggle, in the age-long European struggle, of free nationhood against the barbaric notion of world-empire. Great Britain stood for the rights of free nationhood. The dream of world-empire found its last tragic expression in the vaulting ambition and matchless brain of the great Napoleon.

In that struggle Britain stood alone. Italy, Holland, Austria, Prussia, Spain, one after another all bowed low to Bonaparte's masterful will on bloody fields of war. Even Russia, apart and impregnable among her snows, came to terms. All the nations of Europe yielded up their strength for the service of Napoleon, and, obedient to his decree, at Berlin and Milan they refused commercial relations with the one nation which defied the Colossus that bestrode the world. Had he won, had his despot's dream come true, then the glory of free nationhood, not for Europe alone, but for Britain and perhaps for the world, had passed, and, it may be, had passed forever.

That struggle meant life or death for Britain. Had Napoleon succeeded in throwing all of Britain's foreign trade into neutral hands it could mean only death. In that struggle, as the statesmen of England then saw it, there was no room for neutral trading nations. Neutral rights, as manipulated by Napoleon, meant the immediate destruction of Britain's commercial independence. In the end it meant, not the prosperity of the neutrals, but Napoleon's domination of the world.

The War of 1812 was declared by the United States for the purpose of asserting her trading rights as a neutral in the war that involved Europe. When the European situation was solved by the overthrow of Napoleon and his banishment to Elba, the alleged causes of the war between Britain and the United States became purely academic, and in the treaty of peace, signed in 1814, those points in dispute were not even mentioned. Indeed, it was not until 1856, in the Declaration of Paris, that the rights, the just rights, of neutrals were established among the nations. This last war between the two great English-speaking world-powers was proved, proved in itself, proved by the history of its issues, to be fruitless for good to either nation, unless it be taken as convincing evidence of war's incurable futility.

Not only is war ineffectual as a means for the just settlement of disputes between civilized nations, but by the very irony of fate, most wars have reactions quite the opposite of their original intention. The undesigned reactions of war are the surprises of history.

In the 13th century and after, the Dukes of Austria tried,

by sheer brute power, to tighten their feudal grasp on the free peasantry of the Alpine valleys. The result of their wars was Austria's humiliation and shame. Out of the struggle for liberty was born a new Switzerland, united, free, invincible.

The Battle of Bannockburn, in the 14th century, tells the same story. England's feudal king sought to lord it as sovereign over what had hitherto been the wild and divided North. Proud Edward's power was broken. Scotland was united. Out of "oppression's woes and pains" comes a new and sturdy nation with its deathless slogan, "Scots wha hae."

In the 18th century the aggressive war party in Britain, against the better judgment and the finer instincts of the nation, and in the teeth of the eloquent protests of Pitt and Burke, in the blindness of the mere bureaucrat determined, by the sword if needs be, to coerce to their own policy the free-born colonies in America. Their folly went wide of the mark. They failed, as they were bound to fail. Instead of a larger domain and more efficient power, Britain lost her first empire. Out of the storm and stress, the American Colonies, North and South, just because they were sons of the British breed, arose, a welded nation, holding on high their Declaration of Independence.

Similarly in 1812 the dominant war-party in this new-born Republic, blind to the real genius of the nation, deaf to the warnings of its highest instincts, and in defiance of the recorded protests of some of the greatest of its States, cherished the hope of shifting its northern boundary from the Great Lakes to the Arctic and making the Republic coterminous with the continent. They also failed. The Fates were against them, too. The Canadian pioneers, they, also, were men of British blood. The undesigned reaction of the war of 1812 is the Canada of to-day.

Let there be no mistake. The readings of history are plain. In the pangs of 1812 the soul of Canadian nationality began to be born. That war was indeed Canada's national war. In it the United States was divided, Britain was reluctant, but Canada was in grim and deadly earnest. All Canadians—the French-Canadians in the valley of the St. Lawrence, the colonists from Britain, and the Loyalists from New England and the South—all these for the first time made common cause. To the French-

Canadian, who cared nothing about the cry, "free trade and sailors' rights," the American appeared as an invader, the despoiler of his home, the enemy of his people, and under De Salaberry, at the Battle of Chateauguay, the French-Canadian militiamen, fighting under the British flag, defeated the most extensive strategic movement of the whole war. From the St. Lawrence to the St. Clair the Canadian pioneers were the Loyalists of 1776. For them the war of 1812 meant a fight for their new homes against their oldtime enemies. The impact of that war drove into one camp French-speaking and English-speaking, and out of that community of sympathies and interests emerged in due time Canadian nationality.

That war did more. It not only welded together French-speaking and English-speaking, but it bound all Canada with ties stronger than steel to the motherland of Britain. Within one generation Canadians, having defended their country side by side with British regulars against invasion from without, demanded from Britain self-government within; and they won not only representative institutions such as the United States inherited, but Britain's latest achievement, responsible government as well. When the scattered Provinces of Canada gathered themselves together under one responsible Canadian Government there appeared an absolutely new thing in the political achievements of the world: a new nation that had not severed its historic ties or sacrificed its historic background. That new nation, loyal to the old flag, awakened in Britain a new conception of Empire, and led the way for Newfoundland and Australia and New Zealand and South Africa into that civilized "imperium" which constitutes the British Empire of to-day.

Come back now to the war of 1812. Come back to the battle of Lake Erie. Call up the men whose blood reddened these waters, and whose valor gave that struggle all it has of glory. Let them all look up and see what we now behold. Let the Canadians rise, the men in whose hearts the fires of hate and fear burned hot. Let them look southward across the lake, far as the Gulf and wide as from sea to sea. Let them multiply the eight million Americans of that day into the hundred millions of to-day, and count every man a friend. Let them see this great

nation, greatest among the world's Republics, with power to achieve what it has greatly planned, standing four-square among the nations, pledged, irretrievably pledged, to the world's freedom, good-will and peace. What a glad surprise for the Canadians of a hundred years ago!

Let the Americans rise, too. Let them come, officers and men, from Ohio, from Rhode Island, from Kentucky, who in the hour of victory, for them the hour of death, saw in vision their Republic stretch far as the northern sea. Let them look up and see the boundary line where it was a hundred years ago, but north of it a new nation, filling half a continent with people of proud resolve, self-dependent, resolute, free. Let them understand how that through this century of peace there have arisen in America two English-speaking nations, both sovereign, self-respecting, unafraid, and each with the other forming that marvelous unity of American civilization and standing for its integrity, prestige and power. What a surprise, what a glad surprise, to the Americans of a hundred years ago!

Greatest surprise of all to those men from Britain, from Canada and from the United States, who here greatly fought and bravely died, were they to see that fights like theirs are now not only deemed impolitic, but are absolutely impossible between these nations. That impossibility is not merely a matter of policy, but is a fundamental principle. That principle is the rights of nationhood. All responsible statesmen in Britain, in the United States and in Canada agree in this, that, not for themselves alone, but for all peoples, the rights of nationality are sacred and inviolate. Any and every people that desires to be free, and is fit to be free, ought to be free, and must be free.

Britain learned that principle out of the war of American independence. The United States and Canada learned it in the struggle of 1812. In loyalty to that principle Britain withstood the despotic aggressions of Napoleon, and after him the not less despotic schemes of the concerted monarchs of Europe against the rising democracies. When the concert of Europe planned war against the new Spanish democracy, Canning, the Foreign Secretary of Britain, asserted that principle in these words: "Our business is to preserve the peace of the world, and there-

fore the independence of the several nations that compose it"; and, again, in these words: "Every nation for itself and God for us all." When those plans of the autocratic monarchs of Europe threatened the Spanish colonies in America, Canning proposed to American Ambassador Rush that Britain and the United States issue a joint declaration that "while neither power desired the colonies of Spain for herself, it was impossible to look with indifference on European intervention in their affairs." Immediately after that proposal President Monroe, giving voice to the instinct and true policy of the United States, used these historic words to Congress: "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it . . . we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

That sovereign principle has been the guiding star to the nations of Britain and America over a troubled sea. It has changed for Britain the old centralized notion of Empire into the new idea of a world alliance of free nations, in which loyalty is not of compulsion, but of love, and the ties, stronger than selfish bonds, are imperceptible and light as air. It has ranged the public opinion of Britain on the side of the struggling democracies of the world—of Greece, of Italy, of Belgium, of Hungary, and even of the nations of the Orient. It civilized the boundary line between the United States and Canada, and inspires life in America with a new ideal of internationalism. It determines the policy of the United States in its relations with the Philippines, with Cuba, with Mexico and the republics of South America, with Japan of a generation ago and with the awakening democracy of China to-day.

All this growth of nationhood, this sanctity of national aspiration, the commonplace among us to-day, had its beginning when through the smoke of battle Britain and America began to see eye to eye. The distance that vision has brought these two nations, the revolution it has wrought, may be measured by

the difference between what happened on Lake Erie in 1813 and what happened in 1898 on Manila Bay. The significance of the change is expressed in to-day's celebration. At this place and on this day our deepest concern is not with the wars of the past, but with the peace of the future; not with the triumphs or the defeats of yesterday, but with the responsibilities and obligations of to-morrow; not with the glory that either nation achieved a hundred years ago, but with the message which both nations, speaking in the name of our common North American civilization, shall give to the world through the hundred years to come.

That message, spoken by two voices, one from the United States, the other from Canada, is one message. It is America's message that on this continent, between two proud peoples, the barbarism of brute force has long yielded to civilized internationalism. It is the assurance that Canada's national standing on this continent binds the British Empire and the American Republic in one world-spanning English-speaking fraternity. On all continents and on all seas the power of America is the combined power of the United States and Canada, plus the power of Britain and of the British dominions on the South Atlantic and beyond the Pacific. These all are bound together, each with all the others, for the maintenance of that principle of nationhood: any people that desires to be free and is fit to be free ought to be free and must be free. That principle means peace and freedom in the English-speaking world.

More than that. What this principle of nationhood has done for America and for the English-speaking fraternity it yet will do for the world. In the light of America's experience the international boundary lines of Europe are barbaric. They cannot long endure. In our own day war has begun to be seen not merely as cruel, burdensome, brutal, but as too futile and too foolish for sane and civilized peoples. The nations of civilization will yet leave war behind, as civilized men have left behind the street fight and the duel. As individual citizens have found the only sure vindication of personal honor and the only true protection of vital interest to be in respecting the personality and the personal interests of others and in trusting for justice to the law of their land, so are the nations learning that the only sure

vindication of national honor and the only certain protection of vital interests is in respecting the nationality of others and in trusting for justice to the growing conscience of the race codified in international law and expressing itself through international arbitration.

On that, as on a sure foundation, rests the hope of the world's peace. Once men dreamed of peace through the world sovereignty of some master mind like Alexander or some ruling race like the Romans. But that dream of peace, the peace not of free men but of weaklings and slaves, was doomed forever when Napoleon and his army staggered back through the snows of Russia under the curse of God.

But a new day has dawned, dawned for the statesmen, dawned for the nations. It is the day of national rights and national responsibilities. The two nations of America have seen the coming of that day, have seen it through these generations of peace, have seen it and are glad. We of to-day, standing on this historic boundary line, a boundary no longer of separation, but of union, are pledged, we and our nations with us, pledged to preach this gospel of freedom, good-will and peace. This is America's vision; this America's message; this America's obligation to all the world.

ADDRESS OF HON. WALLING.

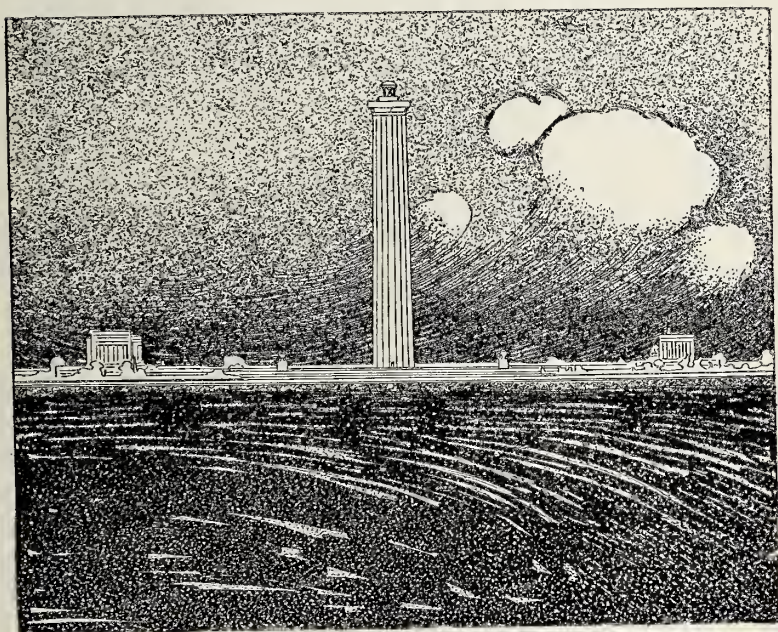
Hon. Emory A. Walling, presiding judge of Erie County, Pa., spoke as follows:

The only excuse that I have for now coming before you is that my home is in Erie, Pennsylvania, a place so linked with the great national event, the anniversary of which we are here celebrating, that as one of her citizens I would be less than an American if I shrank from the performance of any duty to which I might be here called by your committee.

The end of the year 1812 found the war going on with the great territory of Michigan in full possession of the enemy, who to extend the invasion into Ohio and possibly Pennsylvania, must have control of Lake Erie and so must we to drive the enemy out of Michigan and carry the war into Canada. This lake was the key to the situation. The British saw it and pres-

ently had a war fleet upon the lake. We must meet them there. We, too, must have a fleet.

There was but one safe place to build it, and that was Presque Isle Bay at Erie, being then and still the finest natural harbor on the great lakes; land locked and protected by the peninsula which extends nearly three miles outward from the main shore line of the lake; and the only entrance to the bay



Proposed Perry Monument.

being then too shallow for the enemy's largest gunboats, and also to some extent protected by fortifications. The guns on the enemy's boats then only had an effective range of about one mile. So our harbor was the place to construct the fleet.

Fortunately in that crisis, Captain Daniel Dobbins, the ablest navigator on the lakes, lived at Erie, and he went to Washington and laid before the president and the secretary of the navy the facts with such force that Presque Isle Bay was chosen as the place to build the fleet and he was made sailing

master in charge of the work. So when Commodore Perry, who at his own request had been assigned to duty on this lake, came to Erie, March 27, 1813, he found that American patriotism had preceded him and that some of the intended war boats were already on the stocks. The best protection to a free country is not great navies nor standing armies, but the courage and patriotism of a loyal people. Nevertheless, even in this twentieth century if we wish abiding peace we must be wise enough to desire it and strong enough to maintain it.

Under the inspiring presence of Perry, that fleet arose as if by magic. The forests, where is now the heart of our city, were converted into war ships almost in a night. The songs of the birds were lost in the crashing of trees felled along the shore. Men came from far and near to join in the work. House carpenters became ship carpenters. Even those long days of the early summer were too short for the work that must be done, and the music of axe and mallet, of hammer and saw was heard far into the night.

Supplies and munitions of war were secured at Buffalo, Pittsburg, Philadelphia and elsewhere. Even powder was brought six hundred miles in the Old Dupont Powder Wagon from Wilmington, Delaware, and much of the way was little better than an Indian trail.

With boundless enthusiasm Perry was everywhere. And in three and one-half months from the day he landed in Erie, an American fleet of nine vessels was floating in our harbor fully completed and equipped for service. That fleet cost eight thousand dollars, some of which was advanced by a patriotic citizen whose descendants still live in our city. That was before grafters were born.

Then came the most herculean task of all—to get officers and sailors to man the fleet. Here Perry succeeded by efforts almost superhuman. Some came as raw volunteers, some from Commodore Chauncey, some from General Mead, some from places far away and before the battle some from General Harrison. At last the fleet was manned, and early August, the heavier ships being lightened and floated over the bar, sailed out to meet the enemy.

That was a perilous summer. Oft did the enemy's ships sail by close to our shore. The danger of an attempt to enter the harbor, or of an attack by a force landed nearby was ever present. We had there a few soldiers and every citizen was a minute man ready to respond at the call of the village bell.

Our people stood along the shore to watch the fleet as it sailed away. Their hearts and prayers went with it. Aye, their fathers, their brothers, their sons went forth in that fleet to join with Perry in the struggle for the mastery of the lakes.

But that was not a local campaign. For on those ships were men from all or nearly all the states, including some colored men, and this is no local celebration. Perry did not belong to any one state, but to the country, to humanity and to the ages.

And what a broad, splendid spirit our Canadian brothers show to join with us here today in making this an international jubilee.

Perry came to Put-in-Bay somewhat because of the harbor and to be near the land forces of General Harrison, and also because he was in quest of the enemy, who were then at this end of the lake. He did not have long to wait, for there was never a time on sea or land when the Briton was not ready for a square open fight.

It must have been an inspiring sight, on the morning of September 10th, when the British with a favorable breeze came down the lake in battle line, and Perry rising from a sick bed, went forth to meet the enemy. Well matched in numbers and equipment, it was Anglo Saxon meeting Anglo Saxon, on equal terms, in deadly strife. All realized that the day of battle had come. Our men were served an early dinner. Our decks were dampened and sprinkled with sand. All knew they would soon be wet with blood.

The British having longer carrying guns, sought to fight at a distance. The Americans with shorter, heavier guns, sought to come to close range. At a quarter of twelve, all the enemy's bands struck up "Rule Britannia," and the battle was on, our flagship Lawrence leading the attack. And against it the enemy concentrated its fire of shot and shell, until it was literally a floating bloody hulk. On it the carnage was terrible. Of its

one hundred and three men not twenty were left able to stand. Perry with his own hands fired the last shot from her deck. That was the psychological moment, which changed the history of North America.

A mile away was the twin ship 'Niagara' yet unscathed. Then came the strangest sight ever recorded in the annals of naval warfare. The American commander, still unhurt, though thought dead, pulled down the pennant which had been given him by an Erie lady, and on which were the immortal words of Lawrence, 'Don't give up the ship.' And with a few companions entered the only row boat still attached to the Lawrence and headed for the Niagara. Never since Washington crossed the Delaware had the life of one man been of such controlling importance to the country, and never was a life in greater peril.

The British commander, twice wounded, but still confident of victory, from the deck of his battered flagship, saw the significant move and at once turned the guns of his fleet upon the little boat as it swiftly cut the waves, and for fifteen minutes it went literally through a baptism of cannon shot, grape shot, canister and musket balls. The boat was hit, the oars splintered, the water dashed in foam around them, but not a man was touched.

Perry hastily re-arranged his line of battle and amidst deafening cheers that pennant rose again. At that moment a fresh breeze came as from Heaven and drove the old Niagara right through the enemy's lines, and with broadsides to right and left, midst blinding smoke, shattered the opposing ships, two of which had become fouled in an effort to resist the onslaught, so that in less than fifteen minutes every opposing flag went down. The first and only time that a British squadron ever surrendered. And from then until now no nation has ever raised a hostile flag upon the Great Lakes.

Then Perry took his pencil and with his cap as a rest, wrote that famous message to General Harrison:

"We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop."

The forest fleet had done its work, and shortly the Lawrence, the Niagara and other ships were returned to Erie. And

their commander came back to us in his little boat, the 'Arial,' and it was the proudest hour in Erie's history when Commodore Perry sailed back into our harbor with his flag of victory waving in the bright autumn sky. Do you wonder that the tenth of September has, for a hundred years, been a great holiday in all parts of the country?

Do you wonder that this great succession of centennial events began at Erie where for a week we revelled in gala attire and had such a celebration as we never knew before? Do you wonder that the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania reached down with arms of love and from the bottom of Lake Erie, where she rested for five and ninety years, lifted up and rebuilt the old Niagara so that during this glad year hundreds of thousands might reverently tread upon her deck as upon consecrated ground?

Do you wonder that as Pennsylvanians we come here inspired by what our ancestors have done, and eager to join with you in an eternal pledge of fidelity to the future, so 'that these dead shall not have died in vain?'

After the battle, General Harrison marched forward, drove the enemy back to Canada, destroyed its Indian allies, regained possession of all that had been lost, and again the banner of the stars was raised over the Great American Northwest, where it has floated in peace for a hundred years. In fact, Harrison's campaign was so brilliant as to make him a popular idol and twenty-seven years later, the slogan of 'Tippecanoe and Tyler too' swept the country, and in our greatest political campaign, landed the old general in the White House.

That war showed the world, what it did not know before, that Americans could fight upon the water. After what Perry did on Lake Erie, what McDonough did on Lake Champlain, what Decatur, Hull, Bainbridge, Lawrence and others did upon the sea, it took no black lettered treaty to defend the rights of our sailors. And, sir, for a hundred years the best protection any American has had is the flag of his country.

Considering what he had to do with, what he had to contend against and what he accomplished, Commodore Perry's victory is not surpassed in the annals of modern warfare. But

he was also great as a man. And, my friends, the century of peace must be the highest feeling in all our hearts, and it is fitting that it be here celebrated. For it began just a hundred years ago this afternoon out yonder on the battered and bloody hulk of the old *Lawrence* when Commodore Perry accepted the surrender of the British officers with such genuine kindness as to make them forget the bitterness of defeat. It began when he secured a parole for Commodore Barclay and returned the crippled and wounded hero to home and country. It began right here on this island when, after the battle, the Britons and Americans mingled their tears together at the common open graves of their dead, who here were buried side by side.

Let us hope that such peace between the two great English speaking nations will forever remain unbroken, and that it may tend to lead all other nations up to that final era of peace on earth and good will to men. Such era will dawn when all men the world around can look into one another's faces and know and feel that they are brothers.

Other addresses were made by Governor R. B. Burchard of Rhode Island and Rev. A. J. Carey of Chicago.

The exercises on Put-in-Bay were followed by a banquet at the Hotel Breakers on Cedar Point, Sandusky. This banquet was announced as "in connection with the national and inter-state observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Lake Erie and of General William Henry Harrison's northwestern campaign in the War of 1812 and to commemorate the century of peace between English speaking peoples which will conclude December 24, 1914.

Toastmaster Clarke introduced the exercises by reading the following communication from President Wilson:

"It is a matter of deep regret with me that my duties here render it impossible for me to be present and share in the notable celebration of the victory at Put-in-Bay. I am kept away by the thought that no man can truly praise those who did their duty by neglecting his own.

"I need not attempt to characterize the great service of the

"I need not attempt to characterize the great service of the

men who won that notable victory. That I am sure, will be done better than I could do it by yourself and the others who will speak at the celebration; but I crave the pleasure of adding my tribute of unqualified admiration of the men who with so little did so much and crowned a difficult enterprise with singular glory."

Among those present at the banquet were Mr. W. B. Shelby, a great-grandson of Governor Shelby, Harrison's chief lieutenant in the campaign of 1812. Mr. Shelby had with him a field glass taken by Commodore Perry after his victory and presented to the Governor. Mr. Charles Henry Todd, M. D., son of Charles Scott Todd, Harrison's gallant aide de camp, was also present.

On the morning of September 11th, the Steamer Olcott conveyed the guests of the Inter-State Board to Put-in-Bay for the exercises in connection with the removal from their present graves of the bones of the American and British officers, killed in the battle of Lake Erie, to the crypt of the Perry Memorial, where they were re-interred with international honors.

The religious ceremonies were conducted jointly by the Right Reverend James DeWolf Perry, Jr., Bishop of Rhode Island, and the Venerable Arch-Deacon H. J. Cody, D.D., LL.D., rector of St. Paul's Church, Toronto, Canada, in token of the historical fact that clerical representatives of both nations joined in the original burial at Put-in-Bay one hundred years ago.

The funeral cortege was escorted by Colonel Harry Cutler, of Rhode Island, Chief Marshal, with a staff composed of the leading naval and military representatives of the participating states; a provisional battalion of United States infantry, Captain H. G. Smith, commanding; Third Division Coast Artillery, Rhode Island National Guard; Third Division Rhode Island Naval Battalion; officers and men from the U. S. ships Essex, Don Juan de Austria, Wolverine, Hawk and Dorothea; the Newport Artillery Company, Rhode Island Militia; and the First Light Infantry Regiment, Rhode Island Militia. During these ceremonies minute guns were sounded from the ships in the harbor and the bells of Put-in-Bay Island were tolled.

Thus ended this most impressive and significant celebration. But Put-in-Bay was by no means the only place to witness the

intense interest taken in the events there celebrated. Before the celebration the flag ship Niagara had been taken to the principal cities in the upper lakes, where it was inspected by many thousand loyal citizens; while after the celebration it was conducted with great pomp and ceremony to Cleveland, where its history and the events connected with it were made the occasion of a week's festivities and rejoicings.



A GRAVE IN THE WILDERNESS.

BY BYRON R. LONG.

When one considers the amount of material collected and published having to do with the story of Ohio and the Northwest Territory, he is apt to hesitate before he sets himself the task of adding to that collection. So many details of that history have been published already that one fears he may be traversing the same grounds when he attempts to narrate a detail that has grown familiar to him through personal and intimate association. And then, except one is giving himself wholly to the business of writing history, he scarcely feels competent for the task of setting before his readers a narrative that is altogether new, or that has not in part, at least, been told before.

One may be comforted in the thought, however, that well-established historical data have been provided in this very way. Many writers dealing with the same event or incident and at different angles of observation give to the general historian, when he comes to sum up details, such a vision of the whole as enables him to present a narrative that appeals to the candid and serious student who makes history contribute to the philosophy or science of human government.

In presenting this detail the writer has no ambition other than to call attention to it as having some part in the beginning of great commonwealths that now stand as monuments to the faithful and heroic men and women who performed their tasks at the close of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Scarcely had the ordinance of 1787 been created when a vaster pilgrimage set in toward the Ohio country. Every day in the year, winter and summer alike, witnessed the new arrivals; their miniature crafts touching the wilderness borders on the south shore of Lake Erie, or their caravans wending

their way along the ridge roads from the east to find dwelling places in the untried forests. There was comedy and tragedy all the way along which they came. They were pilgrims and strangers setting their faces toward a goodly country, as they thought, and having set out it was for them to do and dare and be patient no matter whether the way be rough or pleasant withal.

Graves marked the way they came, and not a few who reached the land which was to be their future home, sighed for



Graves of Alexander and Elizabeth Harper, Unionville Cemetery.

faces and forms which they had sadly covered from sight and left in unknown graves along the way.

The interest the writer takes in telling this particular story has come of his visit to a grave which had the good fortune to be marked. And standing by this grave he said to himself, here is material for an interesting sketch.

Most people move shy of graveyards. Living, stirring scenes interest them more. Underground where mineral-wealth veins lie is of greater moment than are the places where the

forms of once living men lie hidden away. True it is, that for long time men visit the graves of their loved ones and carry flowers to make them beautiful, and there is a general sense in which memory holds dear the resting places of the dead. But as a rule we put our dead away and as the years speed on the places of their sepulcher are but feebly remembered.

Some graves to be sure become shrines, and men travel over long distances to stand beside them and drop the wreath of honor and right regard—the meed of heroic action or the memorial of high-born thought.

A few years ago a Bulgarian student at Harvard University, before returning to his home land after years of study at that institution, came hundred of miles into the interior of our country at the behest of his countrymen to express their love by placing a wreath of flowers upon the grave of a newspaper correspondent, who, in a crisis of their national life, had spoken and written the words that stirred another and powerful government to come to her defense in a way that led up to final deliverance.

America and Europe have many graves that have become shrines; and travelers on their way seek them and stand beside them and gather inspiration for the tasks still to be performed.

The love of country; the admiration for great men and great achievements; the high respect born of instinct and reason which we have for lofty character, lend hallowedness to the spot of ground where repose the bodies of heroes and statesmen, philanthropists and philosophers. The Westminster Abbeys of the world are, by no means, deserted grounds.

One may take a morbid interest in matters like these, and in this way lose any true value that must come of a just estimate that should be placed upon them. But rated at their true worth they become individual and national assets of wonderful significance.

The grave to which attention is called in this document gets its importance of the fact that it entombs the body of one of the most noted pioneers of the Western Reserve. And it is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, marked grave in that region.

Of other graves it may be said, as may be said of the distinguished one along side this one, that the occupants were as early on the ground as was this man, but it may also be said that they lived on through many years and came to the close of their pilgrimage in the middle of the century. Sad to say, however, many of these have no markers above their resting places.

Here on this lonely ridge in the wilderness a grave was made in the autumn time of the year before Washington died. And it is of no little interest to note that the man buried in this grave was a compatriot of the Father of his Country, and won not a little renown in the Revolutionary conflict under the leadership of the greatest general of that war.

Upon the stone above the grave is inscribed the date 1798, two years before the ushering in of the century which, at its close, had recorded the miracles of science and demonstrated the sovereignty of mind over matter. The following lines, partially worn away by time, express the modest estimate of those who lived to appreciate his sturdy character:

"Around this monumental stone
Let friendship drop a sacred tear;
A husband, kind, a parent fond,
An upright man lies buried here."

Eleven years prior to this the great document, the Ordinance of '87, affecting all the region of the new West, had come as a part of the fabric of government. Ten years before this date the second Mayflower had landed where the Muskingum empties its turbid waters into the River Beautiful, and where the first settlers of Ohio established their Campus Martius.

Two years previous to the making of this grave in the wilderness, on the Fourth of July, 1796, a surveying party led by Moses Cleaveland had landed at the mouth of Conneaut Creek, since named the Plymouth of the Western Reserve, and the man who led the party has been mentioned as the Moses of the New Promised Land. Moses Cleaveland is known the world over now, since his name was given to the city founded at

the mouth of the Cuyahoga, and which is today the sixth city in population in the United States and the metropolis of Ohio.

The city of Cleveland had just begun to be when this grave was made thirty-five miles to the eastward and in it was placed the body of Alexander Harper, captain in the army that fought the battles of the American Revolution; pioneer promoter of commonwealths in two regions of our country and the heroic leader of bands of pilgrims and founder of townships of the same name in each of these states—Harpersfield in New York and Harpersfield in Ohio, the former in 1770 and the latter in 1798.

Captain Alexander Harper was born in Middletown, Connecticut, in 1744, and therefore was in his prime when malarial fever carried him off at the age of 54 years.

In 1754, when he was but 10 years old, his parents moved to Cherry Valley, New York, famed as the scene of the terrible tragedy of 1778 when the Tories and Indians swept down on the beautiful region to massacre the inhabitants and destroy their homes. In 1768, while mutterings of revolution were ominous of epoch-making events, Captain Harper, his brother and a number of neighbors and friends secured a patent for a large tract of land in what is now Delaware County, New York, and here, as before mentioned, established the town of Harpersfield. They lived here in comparative quiet during the next four or five years. During this period, on July 30th, 1771, Captain Harper was married to Elizabeth Bartholomew, a woman of remarkable character and worthy in every way of her illustrious husband and sharing with him during the remainder of his life the vicissitudes of soldier and pioneer, and after his death winning to herself great distinction among the heroines of the Western world. She lived to the advanced age of eighty-four years and was buried beside her husband's wilderness grave. The story of her life has enlisted the pen of a ready writer and is beautifully and graphically told in a volume entitled "The Pioneer Women of the West." The same volume contains the biography of their daughter, Elizabeth Tappan.

The counties of Herkimer, Schoharie, Otsego, and Delaware, New York, are geographical divisions well known to the

student of the times of the Revolution. Threaded with spurs of hills — the receding slopes of the Catskill Mountains — and by the winding headwaters of the Mohawk, Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, these counties occupy a place on the map of our country memorable in the romance and struggle of the life of our Revolutionary fathers. There are towns here and there suggestive of great men and great events—Cherry Valley, Oriskany, Schoharie, Herkimer. These names call to mind the thrilling stories of the French and Indian War: The alliance



Unionville Lake Shore Station.

with the Indians of Englishmen like Sir William Johnson, who by marriage got to himself a brother-in-law in the world-famed Indian, Joseph Brant, chief of the Mohawks; the heroism of old Nicholas Herkimer with his 800 men marching to the portage of Oneida to relieve Fort Stanwix; the battle of Oriskany on the way, which by one writer has been mentioned as "the most obstinate and murderous of the entire Revolution", where a third of the eight hundred were killed and wounded yet winning the day and staying the march of Johnson

and Saint Leger's forces from marching farther south. Here it was that Herkimer's horse was shot under him and his leg shattered by a musket ball, but nothing daunted, seated on his saddle under a tree, he continued to smoke and shout his commands until the fight was over, dying ten days after as the result of an unskilled operation. The brave old man was remembered by a grateful people in the erection of a magnificent monument at Oriskany in 1884.

Schoharie deserves mention here also, since the place is so clearly identified with the person and family of the man whose story is being told in these pages. In 1777 Colonel John Harper, brother of Captain Alexander Harper, was in command at Fort Schoharie and of the frontier stations in this region under Governor Clinton. The incident is related in "Border Warfare," by Rev. Mr. Fenn, who declares that he was told the story by Colonel Harper himself. It reveals his knowledge of how to deal with Indians when they have blood in their eye. He was on an inspection tour, visiting Oriskany, Cherry Valley and Harpersfield. As he rounded a promontory he came face to face with a band of Indians. He chose rather than to flee to march right up to them and hail them on friendly terms. His coat was buttoned about him tightly so as to hide his regimentals. He knew the leader and some of the others and began a colloquy, the purpose of which was to allay any feeling on their part as to what his real mission was. In the course of their talk he discovered they were on their way down the Susquehanna river to make a foray on a Scotch settlement, known as the Johnston Settlement. He further learned that the band would rest for the night at a point near the mouth of Schenevas Creek. After getting these facts he bade them goodbye and proceeded on his journey. When he was out of sight he changed his direction and made a circuit for the head of Charlotte river, where he knew there was a company of white men engaged in sugar making. He ordered them to make ample provision and meet him at a place called Evans Place at a certain hour that afternoon. Then he rode with great speed to Harpersfield and collected the men there. On their return to Evans Place they found the Charlotte men, and together, after the plan was out-

lined, they marched down the river and across the mouth of Schenevas Creek. Here the stalwart braves had built their camp fire and with their feet to the blaze had surrendered themselves to the thrall of slumber. It was a fatal surrender. The enemy was too near and too familiar with their plans for them to permit such unguarded condition. Colonel Harper and his men were wary. They knew how to take advantage of the situation. Creeping silently toward the place where the Indians were sleeping they secured all their weapons and put them at a distance. Then each member of his company, for they exactly equaled the number of braves, sprang on his man and after a short but severe struggle they had them securely in their power. By this time the morning had advanced so objects could be distinctly outlined, and as the Indian leader Peter recognized Colonel Harper, he shouted: "Now, Harper, I know thee; why did I not know thee yesterday?" The Colonel replied: "There is some policy in war, Peter." "Oh, me find it so now," said the chief.

The Colonel marched the men to Albany and delivered them into the hands of the commanding officer and by this act saved the whole Scotch Settlement.

In 1778 an aggressive Tory, McDonald by name, had marshalled troops of about 300 Indians and Tories and was making wicked ravage on the frontier settlements. Among others he visited Schoharie and with fierce barbaric spirit proceeded to commit depredations.

Colonel Vrooman was commandant at Schoharie at the time. The garrison was very weak and the besieged company were very fearful of massacre. Colonel Vrooman seemed helpless to take any step to make safe the people he was set to guard. When the crisis came Colonel Harper was ripe for the emergency. He called for his horse and started for Albany. He made his way right through the enemy's country. The story of this venture relates that at Fox Creek he presented himself at the tavern, demanded a room and retired for the night without showing fear, but not long had he been there when there was a loud rap at the door. When he asked what was wanted the reply came that they desired to see Colonel Harper. He arose

and after securing part attire and buckling on his sword and pistol, he unbolted the door, stepped back to his bed and bade them come in. He pointed to a crevice in the floor and said: "Who crosses that mark is a dead man." With a short parley they left. He went to slumber no more that night and with the coming daylight continued his journey to Albany. An Indian pursued him almost into the city, but every time he would wheel his horse the Indian would turn and run. At Albany he was able immediately to get the ear of Colonel Gansevoort, who, hearing of the distress at Schoharie, provided a squadron of horse and in a brief time they were on the way to relieve the fort. They rode all night and were at Schoharie in the early morning (one writer says at noon) of the following day. The tremendous shrieking outside the fort was the first intimation the imperilled Schoharians had that the soldiers were there to rescue them from their danger. The men of the fort joined in the fray. The enemy were soon driven away and the people were again permitted to enjoy a period of peace and were enabled to gather in their harvest.

The hero of this episode in the period of the Revolution attained the highest distinction of any of the Harper Brothers, all of whom were great soldiers in that war.

Many other stirring scenes are portrayed in "Border Warfare," the historic document from which this incident has been selected.

Thomas Dun English, the poet, has made the incident at Schoharie famous in his interesting ballad:

"COLONEL HARPER'S CHARGE."

"As Eastward the shadows were steadily creeping,
Fair wives were at spinning, stout husbands at reaping,
Loud chattered the children with no one to hush them;
None knew that the thunder was stooping to crush them.
But soon from the forests, the hill and the dingle,
Came footmen and horsemen, in bodies and single.
Wild painted Cayugas, relentless and fearless,
More barbarous Tories, black hearted and fearless,
To hearthstone and roof tree destruction to carry,
The cruel McDonald came down on Schoharie.
No mercy was offered no quarter was given;

The souls of the victims departed unschripen,
Their requiem only the shrieks of the flying,
The yells of the slayers, the groans of the dying.
Too weak in our numbers to venture a sally,
We sat in our fortress and looked on the valley.
We heard the wild uproar, the screaming and yelling,
The fire and the crashing, the butchery telling.
No tigers imprisoned in iron bound caging,
Felt half of our fury or equaled our raging.
Yet what could we hinder? Revenge was denied us
While ten times our number exulting defied us.
Though wild was our anger and deep our despairing,
To fight with three hundred was imbecile daring;
But Colonel John Harper, who chafed at the ravage,
The pillage and murder by Tory and Savage,
Urged on the conflict and angrily showered
Hot words on our chief as a cold blooded coward.
We heard all his ravings of anger in sadness;
We never resented but pitied his madness.
John Harper looked round him and said he scorned favor,
He'd seek for assistance from men who were braver.
He called for his horse, and defied us to stay him,
And scoffed at the cowards who dared not obey him.
His foot in the stirrup, he hearkened to no man,
Sank spurs to the rowels and charged through the foemen.
He scattered them fiercely and e'er they could rally,
Away like an arrow he shot through the valley.
He broke through the circle created to bound him,
The bullets they showered fell harmless around him.
When fair in the saddle, he never was idle;
He rode through the darkness and kept a loose bridle.
On, on through the darkness, till daylight was o'er him,
And Albany's houses rose proudly before him.
We heard the shots rattle; we saw his foes rally,
And thought that his life-blood had moistened the valley.
Meanwhile, in the fortress, through all the night dreary,
We watched till the sunrise, disheartened and weary.
Noon came in its splendor, we saw them preparing
To storm our rude ramparts and laughed at their daring;
For we were in shelter and they were uncovered—
There was work for the buzzards that over us hovered.
Each step they took forward, with eagerness timing,
We handled our rifles and gave them fresh priming.
But stay! Is this real or only delusion?
What means their blank terror, their sudden confusion?
The whole of the foemen seem stricken with one dread,

'Tis Colonel John Harper with horsemen a hundred.
We gazed but a moment in rapture and wonder,
Rides Harper like lightning and falls like the thunder.
To saddle, McDonald, your doom has been spoken,
The tigers are on you, the bars have been broken.
Whose horse is the swiftest may ride from the foray,
No hope for the footman of Savage or Tory.
The heart shuts on pity where vengeance is portress;
And husbands and fathers came forth from the fortress.
As the wails of our wives and our babes we remember,
The bright flame of mercy goes out, the last ember.
They meant but a visit, we forced them to tarry,
But few of the foemen went back from Schoharie."

I will here quote again from the volume published in 1905 under the title of "Records of the Harper Family," the portion which is taken by the compiler from a volume published by Harper Brothers in 1831, known as the "Annals of Tryon County." This gives record of the deal before mentioned, by which the Harpers with others obtained a patent for about twenty thousand acres of land in Delaware County, New York. Here it was that they came to live after leaving Cherry Valley, and founded the settlement known as Harpersfield, which was to have a duplicate in the Western Reserve twenty-eight years afterward. It is also recorded in Volume I, page 158, of the "Proceedings of the Provincial Congress" how Alexander Harper was appointed First Lieutenant July 17th, 1777. In the same volume reference is made to the Fifth Regiment.

The Council of Safety on this date ordered two companies of Rangers to be raised in the counties of Tryon, Ulster and Albany for the protection of frontier inhabitants; one of these companies was to be commanded by Colonel John Harper, with Alexander Harper as First Lieutenant. This perhaps was the beginning of the Fifth Regiment, which appears in the record later on March 3rd, 1780. The following list of officers appear in connection with appointments made at the time:

John Harper, Colonel.

William Wills, Lieutenant Colonel.

Joseph Harper, First Major.

Thomas Henry, Second Major.

Saint Ledger Crowley, Adjutant.

Alexander Harper, Captain.

On another page appears the pay roll of the officers, who were prisoners in Canada. Upon this pay roll appears the name of Captain Alexander Harper from April 7th, 1780, to November 28th, 1782, A. A. B. 225.

In the "Historical Collections of the State of New York," published in 1841, some note is taken of the capture of Captain Harper by Joseph Brant, the noted Indian Chieftain. A description of this event is given also in a work entitled "Romance of the Revolution," published in 1870 by Porter and Coates of Philadelphia.

A little space might be used profitably at this point to call attention to the noted Indian Chief who took Captain Harper prisoner, bearing him away from his family and holding him a prisoner over a space of two years and eight months, until his people thought him dead.

Joseph Brant, the most famous Chief of the Mohawks and by some one estimated as the greatest of all the North American Indians, had a remarkable history. The story of his life reads like a romance. In fact it belongs to the realm of romance as well as of history. The Indian name of Brant was Thay-en-danega, and he was born on the Ohio River while a great company of his tribe from the Mohawk Valley were on a hunting expedition in about the year 1740. The meaning of his name is "A bundle of sticks." Why he was given such a name no one can tell. He had a sister, Molly Brant, who became the wife of Sir William Johnston, an Irish baronet, who came to America in the middle of the 18th century and took up his residence on a large tract of land which he had obtained of the English King.

Johnston was a great friend of the Indians. He was very successful and became one of the largest landholders and one of the leading Englishmen in the new land.

His first wife was a splendid German girl and they lived happily on his princely estate. Three children were born to them, a boy and two girls. Soon after the birth of the third child his wife died. A while afterward at a military field-day, Johnston first saw Molly Brant and was smitten with her wild

beauty. He invited her to go to Johnston castle and be his mistress. This she finally consented to do. This common-law marriage pleased the Indians and Johnston was a great favorite ever afterward. His castle home was open to the friendly visits of members of the different families of Indians. In fact Johnston became a member by adoption of the Mohawk nation and was made a Mohawk war chief. His marriage to Molly Brant brought him in closest relation with her brother Thay-en-da-nega, or Joseph Brant, as he was familiarly known.



Shandy Hall, Erected by Robert Harper, 1815.

Sir William took marked interest in Joseph and sent him to school at Lebanon, Connecticut. Here he was taught by Rev. Eleazer Wheelock and became very proficient in the use of the English language. Dr. Wheelock said of him: "He is an excellent youth. He is always well, studious and diligent."

It was at this school that Joseph Brant and Captain Alexander Harper first met, and many times afterward their paths crossed each other. Brant was at Crown Point in 1755. He was also present at the siege of Fort Niagara, fighting with Sir

William Johnston's men and so getting disciplined for the war of the Revolution in which he was to take part.

He married and lived quietly in Canajohari. He was a member of the Church of England. His wife dying he married her sister and lived a time at Fort Hunter. During these times he and Alexander Harper often saw each other, and so became well acquainted. When the Colonists in 1775—20 years after Crown Point—determined to resist the tyranny of Great Britain, Joseph Brant was found on the side of England and had by his own personal prowess and good judgment, together with the influence of his brother-in-law, Sir William Johnston, reached a place of great power among his own people. The Iroquois and Mohawk nation recognized him as perhaps their greatest Chieftain.

The story is told that the Colonists tried to enlist him on their side and so had his old teacher Wheelock write him with the purpose of determining on which side he would fight in the coming conflict. When Brant received the letter he answered with characteristic wit—"I remember," said he, "many happy hours that I spent under your roof, dear doctor, and I especially remember the family prayers. These you used to pray on bended knee and ask that we all might be able to live as good subjects, to fear God and honor the king. How is it that you no longer wish to honor the very man for whom you used to pray?" Wheelock never attempted a reply. The English had the support of the noted man and all his followers. He went to England and was lionized at the hands of England's nobility. He was not spoiled by it in any way and came back to his own land to live the plain life that had been his custom. But he was not permitted to be quiet for any extended period. He was called to take part in battles fought on Canadian soil and here won additional fame.

Now let us return to our narrative; 1777 as before learned was a critical year in the history that is here being recorded. Cherry Valley in Otsego County, New York, from which the Harpers had removed a few years previous to a point some miles South in Delaware County, became the center of attack on the part of the Indian forces under Brant. Here it was in

November, 1778, that the terrible massacre occurred with which Joseph Brant's name has been always associated. People in all the surrounding country fled to the forts. Alexander Harper's family fled to Schoharie, where the other brother, John Harper, as before mentioned, had proved a hero. We learned also that it was the year before this that Alexander Harper was made first lieutenant. For the two years following he performed his duty as a Scout of the government in such a commendable way that he was commissioned Captain in 1780. It was this year that he and Joseph Brant were to associate in a way that was to try both of them as to the mettle of their manhood. On the 7th of April in this year, while he and his men were about the work of making maple sugar, the enemy under the leadership of Captain Brant pounced unawares upon Captain Harper and his men. They had supposed there were no armed foes nearer than Niagara and the first intimation they had of their proximity was the thud of the tomahawks which sent three of their number into eternity. Harper himself was face to face with the Mohawk chieftain and his former friend. As said, they had been in school together. They knew each other well. It was a critical moment. Much depended on the skill with which the circumstance could be handled. Courage and adroitness were the elemental qualities for such a time, and Harper was awake to the demands on him, as a preserver of life to himself and little company as well as of those who were in the forts.

Brant knew Harper's mind and courage and Harper was not less aware of the mettle of the warrior with whom he had to deal. It was in fact a meeting of foes worthy of each other's steel.

That Brant's social sentiment was of a good type was demonstrated when he said to Captain Harper: "Harper, I am sorry you are here," and when the Captain inquired why, his reply was: "Because I must kill you, although we were schoolmates in our youth." He raised his tomahawk to strike the fatal blow when suddenly it fell to his side. It had dawned upon him what the murder of such a man might mean under certain conditions. So under the spell of fear and respect he began to make inquiry as to the state of things at the forts. "How many

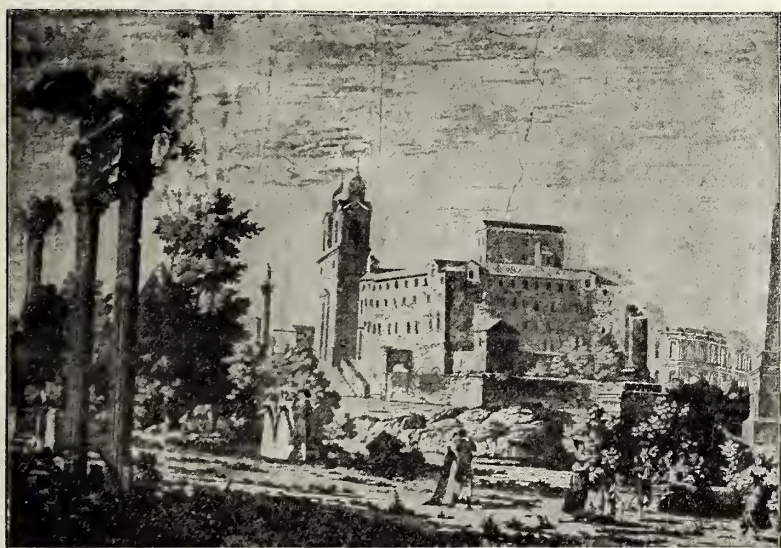
regular troops are there? How about the supplies and the soldiery?" Answer to this inquiry would determine his course. The Captain saw that the telling of the naked truth would mean terrible danger to the people in the fort, including his loved ones. He resorted to a trick. His representation did not fit the facts, but it had the effect desired. His answer was to the effect that the forts were manned by several hundred of the Continental troops. Believing this statement from his former friend and schoolmate, Brant took a more moderate course of treatment than the tomahawk and scalping knife. The captives were bound and carefully guarded by the Tories in the camp, while the Indians held their solemn council. The majority were for the death penalty but their chief stood out stoutly for other disposition of the case.

There was much doubt even in Brant's mind as to the truthfulness of the American Captain, but Harper stood his ground, with the result that the attack was not made at that time and the prisoners were carried captive to Niagara. It was a journey fraught with torture and great danger. Those who could not endure the march, which was rapid, were tomahawked, scalped and left by the wayside. On their arrival at Niagara they were subjected to trial and persecution and barely escaped with their lives.

One incident on the march was most thrilling. On the way from Niagara Brant had sent eleven of his braves to make a raid on Minisink settlement. These warriors secured five of the stalwart settlers and brought them as far as Tioga Point. Here the Indians, weary of their march, fell into profound slumber from which only one was ever to awaken. One of the Minisink men broke the cords which bound him and silently but swiftly liberated the others. With tomahawks they dispatched nine of their savage victims, while the other two attempted to escape. One succeeded and met Brant on the way. The death yell of the escaping warrior aroused the Indians who had been with Brant and for revenge they were determined to treat Harper and his companions in the same way. They began their preparations for the slaughter, when, strange to say, the survivor of the

group, who had told the story of the awful death of his fellows, put up a strong appeal in behalf of the prisoners.

"It was not these men who murdered my brothers," said he. "The Great Spirit would be very angry, if we were to take the lives of these white men on the ground that other white men had killed our brothers." It was a successful appeal. It afterward proved that this Indian had known Harper and the other men and had associated with them in Harpersfield in the former era of peace. This act on the part of the warrior made a pro-



Picture of Wall Paper in Banquet Chamber, Shandy Hall.

found impression on both the whites and the Indians and deserved historic mention, for it demonstrated the sense of justice latent in the breasts of these people, the finest specimen of the North American Indians. On the day following their arrival at Niagara they were compelled to run the gauntlet, one of the excruciating experiences to which captives were most always subjected. Harper was the first sent along the perilous way between two parallel lines of warriors armed with clubs and knives and other instruments of torture. The swiftness with which

the captive ran astonished the Indians, and for fear he would run the entire course without injury, a stalwart brave stepped before him in the path only to feel the sledge-hammer blow of the runner which put him hors-de-combat. The garrison gate was opened to receive him, as was his right, but the Indian ranks had been broken and the other prisoners, profiting by it, escaped the ordeal and finally escaped captivity.

Captain Harper was carried captive to Quebec, manacled in iron and put in a gruesome prison cell and afterward in a prison ship. This captivity lasted two years and eight months and his family thought him dead. In 1783, on his release, he returned to Harpersfield, New York, and remained there for a period of fifteen years, witnessing the growth of the community into all that makes for the peaceful enjoyment of civilization. In 1798, with his own and two other families, he left Harpersfield, New York, and in June of that year landed off shore of Lake Erie, opposite the site of the spot which in September became his burial place and where in the year 1835 his faithful wife was laid beside him.

The Wilderness grave is no longer in a wilderness. As one stands beside it and looks about him on the wide stretches of beautiful landscape and sees the elegant homes that men of a new century have builded, and sees here and there a house that has stood the storms through much of the whole period since Alexander Harper came into the dense forest, he feels the profound meaning of it all. Surely "The Wilderness has blossomed as the rose." We may not feel that the touch that has transformed has always been divine. Still there is something in the mighty change which has been wrought here that constrains one to think that the divine purpose which stirred in the hearts of the pioneers, can never be separated wholly from the splendid fruitage that is in evidence all about.

The change wrought in a hundred years has, indeed, been wonderful. To the writer, standing by this grave, there came the thought that men as a rule are too unmindful of God's instruments who have had part in the drama of the years and who are, in a vital way, part of the structure of institutions and governments as they may stand completed or completing in any present time.

All about this grave lies as beautiful country region as the state of Ohio affords. Men of great fortune have built stately mansions on the very ground where was erected the bark-shack that housed the pioneers who with ax and gun penetrated the dense woods almost one and a quarter centuries ago. One hundred yards from where this temporary shack was situated are the four-track pathway of the great Lake Shore Railroad, the two-track way of the Nickel Plate and the line of the Northern Ohio Traction Company. Over these railways travel daily thousands of human beings unmindful of the historic significance of the places over which they travel. The mighty traffic of a nation passes to and fro East and West, witnesses to the progress of a civilization undreamed of by the pioneers who cleared the forests away. On the ridge, three-quarters of a mile south and within a hundred feet of the pioneer grave, passes the roadway which has for a century served the multitudes passing from East to West and who have developed the means of transportation from the covered wagon drawn by oxen to the sixty-mile per hour touring car, which traverses in a few hours the distance which it took the pioneers days and weeks to pass over. This roadway is the great highway stretching along the lake shore from Buffalo to Cleveland.

In the village stands an old inn. A century of life has gone in and out its hospitable doors, and now the proprietors of a large estate have purchased it and propose to restore it to its old condition, making out of it a modern hostelry for auto tourists passing to and from different parts of the country.

One and a quarter miles from the grave in an easterly direction and on this roadway stands the Harper homestead, known as "Shandy Hall". The old house has stood there for one hundred years and was erected by colonel Robert Harper, youngest son of Captain Alexander Harper, and who for himself won distinction in the War of 1812.

This sketch would be incomplete if something were not said about Shandy Hall. Compared with the modern mansions all about it, the old home does not present a very attractive exterior. Still there is an attraction there that influences the traveler in a way that beauty of architecture alone is not able to do.

The dwelling place of a distinguished family, covering a century of time, becomes a shrine. If the walls of this antique home had tongues to whisper in our ears the tale of the swift flying years, it would be a story of family life profoundly interesting. Here were developed manhood and womanhood of the truly royal type. Out from under this roof went soldiers, statesmen and citizens of which the state of Ohio and the nation may be proud.

Reference has been made to Elizabeth Harper, the wife of Captain Harper, who, three months after the arrival of the pioneer band, witnessed with tear-dimmed eyes the wilderness grave close over the body of the one upon who she and the little company had depended for guidance through the pioneer period. This woman became the tower of strength on which the others leaned after the passing of her husband. Through experience that would quail the ordinary woman she passed courageous and strong, till her sons and daughters stood beside her bearing witness to mother-love and faithful devotion to an heroic task.

In "The Pioneer Women of the West," published by Porter and Coates, a chapter is given to incidents in the life of this noble matron. The closing paragraph sums up the excellencies of her character as follows:

"During all the privations, trials and sufferings which Mrs. Harper was compelled to endure, she was never known to yield to despondency, but with untiring energy exerted herself to encourage all within the sphere of her influence, teaching them to bear up under misfortune and make the best of the place where their lot was cast. Her own family never knew, until the hardships of pioneer life had been overcome, how much she had endured, how many hours of anxiety, how many sleepless nights, she had passed in the times of darkness and disaster. She found her reward in the affection of her children and the influence of their lives, many of them filling important positions in the adopted state.

"During the war of 1812 the country was exposed to all the dangers of a frontier, liable on every reverse of the American army to be overrun by hostile tribes of Indians. In time of danger Mrs. Harper's advice was always eagerly sought, as one

whose experience qualified her to decide on the best course in any emergency. She lived to the great age of eighty-five years, dying on the 11th of June, 1833, retaining unimpaired until her last illness the characteristic strength of her remarkable mind."

The last twenty years of Elizabeth Harper's life were lived in "Shandy Hall," so that the old house connects up closely with the pioneer band who were sheltered under the bark shack structure a half mile away in the June days of 1798.

The home is still occupied by the great-granddaughters of Alexander and Elizabeth Harper. The rooms are full of the furniture and household utensils of the early days — mahogany,



Section of Wall Paper in Banquet Chamber, Shandy Hall.

marble, bronze, elegant china, cut-glass, great tiers of bookshelves, filled with rare books now out of print, together with those of recent publication. All bear witness to culture and refinement of the best sort.

There are seventeen rooms in this quaint old structure. Pre-eminent is the one known as the "Banquet Hall". A good description of this unique chamber is given in the brochure giving the record of the Harper family, published in 1905:

"This room is exceedingly large and built in colonial style with a low arched ceiling. The old fire place and the wainscoting are black with age. The wall paper in this room is its most strik-

ing feature. It is said to have been imported from Paris for use in a large hotel in Philadelphia about 1830; and through a failure of some kind on the part of the company, was offered for sale and was purchased by Robert Harper for his dining hall. The paper, which was put on the walls in eighteen-inch squares, represents a continuous panorama, no two sections of figures being alike. Trees, castles, architectural ruins, fountains, shady walks where men and maidens stroll, a bay with ships sailing in and out, and above all a blue sky flecked with light clouds, are all included in this vastly artistic decoration. Time has softened the colors until the whole effect is beautiful in the extreme.

"The round table in this dining room was made from two pieces of board sawed from a tree seven feet in diameter. It is beautifully polished and a rare piece of furniture."

There are glasses and dishes of all shapes and sizes and of unique designs. It is said that from a tumbler, held in great reverence, Washington drank when a visitor in the Harper home in Harpersfield, New York, during the Revolutionary War.

This "Banquet Hall" was the scene of many a famous gathering in the old days. A young poet of the tribe of Harper, in "Reverie," wrote as follows of "Shandy Hall":

In the twilight, Shandy Hall,
When the silent shadows flit
O'er my tired busy brain
In a reverie I sit.
From those quaint, old pictured walls
There come echoes of the past,
Of the days when pleasure reigned,
Of the days when sorrow came
And I would not change the picture if I could.

The hearts that beat within thee, Shandy Hall,
In those olden days, were just the same as now,
Where the woof was grey with sorrow
They wove a brilliant warp of love,
And looked cheerfully towards the morrow
Placing trust in Him above.

I greet you, Shandy Hall,
And the memories you bring,

Long may you stand
As a monument to them,
Who a hundred years ago,
In the forest wild alone
Struggled on with sturdy hearts
For a future happy home.

Aye, they won you, but through hardship,
Shandy Hall;
And we hold you now through hardship,
Shandy Hall;
But while loyally we stand,
We will lend a helping hand,
And no alien shall possess you,
Shandy Hall.

The writer, accompanied by a photographer, spent a day in July in the year 1913 amid the beautiful scenes that stretch in every direction from the village and its cemetery containing Alexander and Elizabeth Harper's graves.



Old Elm near site of first bark shack of Alexander Harper.

The landscape gardener has been at work here. The magnificent Hopper estate controls a vast tract running up to the limits of the village. On the east and just across the macadam roadway from the site of the bark and slab shack, the first shelter of the pioneers, the Hopper and Nicholas mansions have been erected. A few rods north of these is the magnificent home of Winchester Fitch, son-in-law of Mr. Hopper and a prominent member of the Ohio Club in New York, where with his family he spends the winters. The fine elm shown in the picture stands in the lawn of the

Hopper home and the railway station is just opposite the lawn on the west. The Hopper estate has indirect connection with the Standard Oil industry and the story is an interesting one. Mr. Hopper was an ordinary farmer who had the good fortune to entertain an angel unaware in the person of a ragged though intelligent tramp. This personage came to the Hopper home in great distress due to sickness. The Hoppers cared for him tenderly and on his departure he left a slip of paper in Mr. Hopper's hand which afterwards proved a bonanza. It was a recipe for a solution for lining vessels such as barrels, boxes or cars. After a successful testing Mr. Hopper secured a patent, and in the course of time the Standard Oil Company, hearing of it, made investigation and finally purchased it. The purchase price was a princely fortune and the royalty was a vast income. Mrs. Hopper still lives in the Hopper mansion, and as said her two daughters, the Mesdames Nicholas and Fitch, with their families live in adjoining palatial homes. The farm lands, going into the thousands of acres, present an appearance of a veritable park. An army of men and women find employment on the estate.

Strange that the earliest settlers on the spot and the present owners should have names so similar, Harper and Hopper.

Beginning at Unionville, on to Cleveland, through Madison, Painesville, Mentor, Willoughby, past the homes of the Garfields and others of note, stretches the highway over which the pioneers came into Ohio and along which they built their homes and schools and churches, and as we turn aside under the trees where the long grass waves we remember with devout gratitude the heroes and heroines of the wilderness way a hundred years ago as we read on the leaning stone "Hic jacet."

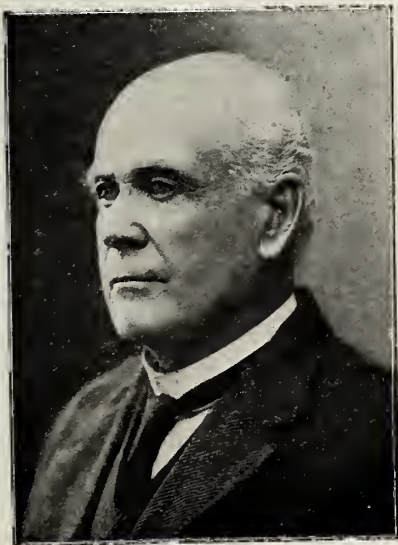


THE BIRTHPLACE OF LITTLE TURTLE.

BY CALVIN YOUNG.

It may not be improper to acquaint the reader with what is to be found in the following pages,—the design of which is to add some new facts to the history of Little Turtle, a distinguished Chieftain of the Miami tribe; to portray some new historical sidelights that have heretofore never been published and to revise and enlarge on a former article written by myself

on the birthplace of the above named chieftain published in the Twentieth Volume of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Reports for 1911. Last but not least this sketch has been prepared at the earnest request of several noted and worthy friends.



CALVIN YOUNG.

We are indebted to the following authors for valuable information: Dillon's "History of Indiana," Abbott's "History of Ohio," Bryce's "History of Fort Wayne," W. S. Blatchley, former State Geologist of Indiana, J. P. Dunn's "True Indian Stories," Lossing's "Field Book of the War of 1812," "Hand Book

of North American Indians," E. A. Allen's "History of Civilization," F. E. Wilson's "Peace of Mad Anthony" and possibly some other authors. To all of which we make respectful acknowledgments.

We especially owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. J. M. Stouder

of Fort Wayne, Indiana, to F. E. Wilson of Greenville, Ohio, and to Mr. C. K. Lucas of Huntington, Indiana, for courteous favors rendered and for valuable suggestions. We also wish to say we have made every effort possible in this sketch to lay before the reader nothing but the most reliable record of facts to be found anywhere. To make this work reliable, readable and entertaining has been the cherished object of the author.

We respectfully dedicate the following pages to the young and rising generation, and to every true-born American who desires more perfect knowledge of the greatest Indian Chieftain that ever appeared in the annals of American History. Cicero said, "Not to know what happened before we were born is to remain always a child. For what were the life of man did we not combine present events with the recollection of past ages?" Consequently future generations will hold us responsible if we fail to honestly and faithfully preserve the records of pioneer times. Our children should be taught the spirit of genuine patriotism through a correct knowledge of the sufferings and hardships of our pioneer fathers and mothers in the early settlement of our country.

E. A. Allen, in his "History of Civilization", tells us, that the American Indians, their ancestors and kindred tribes belonged to the Turanian race. Other writers term them the Mongoloid family, and some eminent men of science tell us there is strong evidence that there have been three distinct creations of the human race at different periods of the world's history, and each at different locations, viz. the African, or Black Race, which made its appearance on the east coast of Africa; the Yellow, or Turanian Race, which belongs to America and are indigenous to the American soil; the Aryan, or White Race, which first made its appearance in northern Europe, or in Central Asia. However, we take it for granted that the American Indian has been a bona fide resident of the wilds of America for untold centuries.

The echo of the red man's voice
Resounded through the vale,
It lingered on the evening air,
It floated on the evening gale.

It was borne along the mountain side,
It drifted through the glen;
It died away among the hills,
Far from the haunts of men.

His face was flushed with hues of health,
His arms and feet were bare;
He had a lithe and active form,
A scalp of raven hair.

Behind the hills he passed from sight,
A sunken, fallen star;
Until his voice is faintly heard
Still calling from afar.

The Miami Indians belonged to the great Algonquin family with whom every student of American ethnology is quite familiar. The first account we have of the Miami Indians was by the French who found them in 1658, at Green Bay, Wisconsin; other branches of the tribe lived still later in north-eastern Illinois, northern Indiana and northwestern Ohio. It seems from these locations that they had gradually moved south-east until they possessed the entire western part of Ohio as far south as the Ohio river, and east to the Scioto river, giving their name to three rivers, and to one county each in Ohio and Indiana. Of the entire Algonquin family there were perhaps none more stable, heroic and resolute than this Miami tribe. In stature, for the most part, the Miamis were of medium height, well built, with heads rather round than oblong. Their countenances were agreeable rather than sedate or morose; swift on foot and excessively fond of racing, both on foot and horse. Little Turtle was six feet high, slender and muscular. He had complete control of himself at all times, could smile in the depth of anger, was able, fluent, earnest and logical in speech, a cunning and adroit diplomat and was remarkably dignified in appearance.

Colonel John Johnson, Indian agent, says, "Little Turtle was a man of wit, humor and veracity, fond of the company of gentlemen and delighted in sumptuous meals and good eating." A writer quoted by Mr. Drake says, "He saw Little Turtle soon after St. Clair's defeat at Montreal and also described him as

about six feet high, sour and morose, and apparently crafty and subtle."

The Mohicans were also a branch of the Algonquin family, and first known to the English and Dutch occupying both banks of the upper Hudson river in New York, and the territory as far east as the Connecticut valley, also extending north almost to Lake Champlain. In 1664 they were at war with the Mohawks, and were compelled to remove to the Susquehanna river and settle near Wyoming, Pennsylvania. They afterward removed to the Ohio region, where they finally lost their identity. However, as early as 1721 a band of the Mohicans found their way to Indiana, where they had a village on the Kankakee river in which Little Turtle's mother was born and reared. The Mohicans were generally well built. As fighting men they were perfidious, accomplishing their designs by treachery, using stratagem to deceive their enemies and to make their most hazardous attacks under cover of darkness.

The village where Little Turtle was born in 1752 was located on the north tributary of Eel river, twenty miles northwest of Fort Wayne, Whitley County, Indiana, on lands now owned by William Anderson, in Section 9, Smith Township. This north tributary is known today as the Blue river branch near its junction at the Blue River Lake, to which it furnishes an outlet only a short distance away. The village stood on the west side of the river on a high, sandy point of land, surrounded



LITTLE TURTLE.

From an old cut reproduced from a painting burned at Washington in the War of 1812.

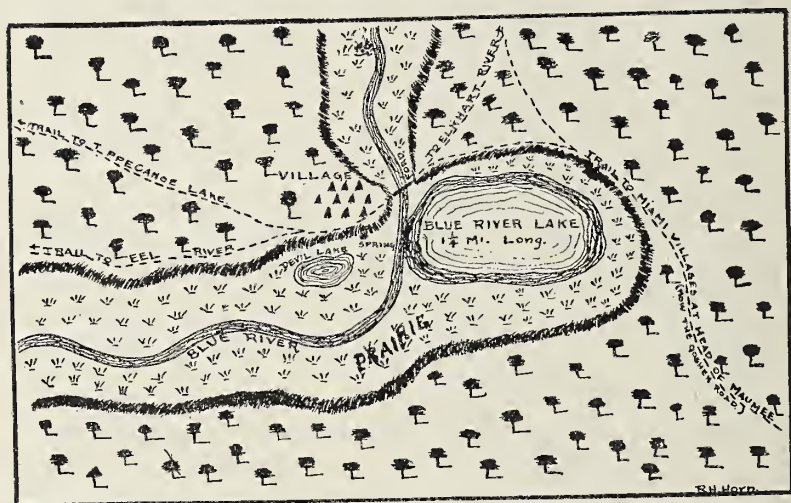
on three sides by a great bend in the river. A wide prairie marsh skirted these high lands north and south, but on the east the high banks were near each other, making it an easy ford to the north bank of the lake, only a few hundred yards to the eastward. The Blue Lake covered possibly five hundred acres. Near the foot of the hill immediate to the south a fine spring of water bubbled forth underneath the shade of a beautiful grove of large oak trees. A short distance to the south of the spring, nestling in the middle of the prairie, was a small lake containing three or four acres, and so very deep that the water looked a dark blue. It was called by the Indians Devil's Lake from the fact that something mysterious had appeared in or near it, entirely unknown to Indian lore, during a dusky summer evening, at which the Indians became terribly frightened and ran all the way to Fort Wayne, then a frontier outpost.

Many times, about 1863, and for a number of years later, the writer was on this peculiar ancient village site, where Little Turtle was born, and where he spent nearly all his life. This always seemed to me like enchanted ground. I have heard the solemn bark of the lonesome fox, the weird scream of the Canada lynx, also the shrill notes of the great northern loon as he floated by high in the clear blue atmosphere. Along the river banks were Indian trails worn several inches deep, which not only spoke of primitive, but also of recent times, as it was a flourishing village in 1812 and possibly was not entirely deserted until 1846, at which time the Indians were nearly all removed to the west. Numerous burial places in the vicinity could still be located as late as 1856, in which the consecrated dead had been enclosed in pole pens as a temporary protection to the body. A catlinite peace pipe was found in 1884, by Mary (Gross) Boggs, on the surface of a near-by field. A valuable cache of flint implements was plowed out a short distance down the river a few years ago, which fell into the hands of careless parties, and were soon lost or destroyed. Some very fine slate ornaments, tube whistles, and other similar objects were found recently near Coulter Lake, a mile below.

The site of this village is still uncleared, and, no doubt, contains many hidden and curious remains of prehistoric times.

An Indian trail led from this village northwest to the Elkhart river; another, southeast to the Miami villages, at the head of the Maumee (now Fort Wayne); a third, southwest down Eel river and the Wabash, and still another almost due west to Tippecanoe Lake and the Kankakee river.

Blue River Lake is only a short distance and in plain view to the southeast. No doubt Little Turtle as a child and youth spent many happy hours about this enchanted spot. On this account the reader will pardon us if we make a slight digression



X LITTLE TURTLE'S VILLAGE SITE 20 MILES NORTHWEST OF FT. WAYNE

Site of Birth of Little Turtle.

in describing more fully the lakes of northern Indiana. We can do no better at this point than to quote from Prof. W. S. Blatchley, above mentioned: "The lakes of northern Indiana are the brightest gems in the corona of the state. They are the most beautiful and expressive features of the landscape in the region wherein they abound. Numbered by hundreds they range in size from an area of half an acre up to five or six square miles. With the fertile soil, the great beds of gravel and myriads of boulders, large and small, they are to be classed as mementoes of the mighty ice sheets, which in the misty past covered the

northern two-thirds of the state. Outside of the counties in which they occur but few of the citizens of Indiana know of their presence, their beauty and their value. Their origin, their fauna and flora, the causes of their gradual diminution in size and final extinction are likewise known by but few.

"By the red man these lakes were more highly appreciated than by his more civilized Caucasian successor, for the reason that the Indian stood much nearer to wild nature than we. On the higher ridges overlooking these lakes he had his village sites. Over their placid waters he paddled his birch-bark canoe and from their depths he secured with hook and spear fishes sufficient to supply his needs, while mussels and the roots of the water lilies added variety to his daily food, while fowls by myriads in their migrating seasons came and went, stopping to feed upon the lakes, thus offering him many a chance to test his marksmanship with bow and arrow, while the skins of the muskrat, otter, and beaver, which he trapped about the marshy margins, furnished him protection against the cold. Thus it will be seen that his very existence depended often times upon these living bodies of water.

"It is little wonder, therefore, that he remained in their vicinity until driven westward by the conquering white man, leaving only the signs of his feasts — vast piles of shells, bones, and pit ovens — as reminders of his former presence and former glory."

Blue River Lake lies two miles northwest of Cherubusco, and is in Sections 9, 10, 15 and 16, Smith Township of Whitley County, Indiana. It is oblong in shape, narrower at the eastern end, is about one and one-quarter miles long by one-half mile in average width. It has an area of about 420 to 500 acres, and a very uniform depth of 40 to 60 feet. The area of shallow water is of medium width, rather broad on the east, south and west sides, and narrower on the north. The shores at most points are rather abrupt, the surrounding country being of a rolling type.

Blue river heads in Green township, Noble county, from a chain of small lakes that range across the north side of the township, including Sand, Long, Dock and Bowen Lakes: It finally empties into Blue River Lake for a few rods only on the west

end, and then takes a southwest course by Columbia City, and a few miles below empties into Eel river. This lake thus receives its waters from upper Blue river and from springs along its sides and bottom. It is well stocked with food fishes.

Dr. Dryer speaks of the midsummer vegetation about the shores of this lake as follows: "Aquatic vegetation in great variety and profusion furnishes a botanist paradise. There are pond weeds, water shield, bladder wort, yellow pond lilies, duck weed, cat-tail, pickerel weed, smart weed, and numerous other varieties."

This lake is the only locality in northeastern Indiana known to the writer where the famous and splendid American lotus occurs. Here it is as abundant as the white water lily. Its flowers are difficult to procure because they are gathered by numerous visitors as fast as they open. With their leaves rolled up, and rocking like a boat, or expanded into an orbicular shield 20 or 30 inches in diameter and flapping in the wind, they present an interesting and attractive sight. The water in Blue River Lake in midsummer has the appearance of muddy coffee, and through the whole season teems with plant and animal life. Such a lake as this would repay a thorough and prolonged biological examination, and would furnish the naturalist with material enough for several years study.

Tippecanoe Lake, the head of Tippecanoe river, lays to the westward, possibly sixteen miles, and reaches the remarkable depth of 125 feet. It seemed that nature had provided here with a lavish hand an ideal home for the red man. The soil was productive for Indian corn, and the writer saw the old Indian fields red with strawberries in June. Wild grapes, wild plums, hazel-nut bushes, acorns and wild berries of all kinds grew near by in abundance. There were red deer, wild turkeys, prairie chickens and pheasants, river and lakes teeming with fish, and, over all a scenic beauty that the poet with his pen could not describe nor the artist with brush portray. All the beauty and poetry of Indian lore, it seems, were represented here as the floating clouds of summer long ago drifted o'er the deep blue sky. Such was the birthplace and home of Little Turtle, the great Miami chieftain.

In order to identify this location as Little Turtle's village, and if possible to leave no doubt in the mind of the future student of history, I will state here that this site is just twenty miles northwest of Fort Wayne, which agrees in distance with the very best authorities on the subject now in hand. We refer the reader to the "Hand Book of the North American Indians," "Bulletin 30", Vol. 1, page 771, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, Dillon's "History of the State of Indiana", page 495, also to Bryce's "History of Fort Wayne", published in 1868, page 227.

A little over two months after Little Turtle's death, which occurred at Fort Wayne, July 14th, 1812, General Harrison ordered Colonel Simrall, on September 17th following, to destroy Little Turtle's village twenty miles northwest of Fort Wayne, but not to destroy Little Turtle's house built by the government for him. This dwelling consisted of a substantial log house about eighteen by twenty feet square. The personal examination of those grounds, and the village site fifty years ago, and the settlement of the early settlers at that time, when the Indians were still present, fully corroborate the statement herein made. An especially good witness was Mr. Robert Walburn, an old trapper and hunter, who killed the last red deer known to run wild in Whitley County, in 1870. This gentleman informed the writer of the above-stated facts.

One of the first settlers of Smith township, Whitley County, was one Mr. Martin, who arrived with his family about 1840. His cabin stood within three or four miles of this village. He had a son, Hiram, who several times narrowly escaped from the wolves. The Miami Indians were still there at that time. The writer knew this man after he had reached middle life, and enjoyed many interesting talks with him about the wild animals, and Indians, who were still there in his boyhood days. His memory was very clear and accurate concerning the old village.

The main branch of Eel river is crossed by the old Indian trail (now the Goshen road) only eleven miles northwest of Fort Wayne. This could not have been the stream on which this village was located, as that stream was twenty miles from old Fort Wayne, or nine miles beyond the above point.

The Miami villages at the head of the Miamis were then called by their Indian name Ke-ki-on-ga, signifying in English "blackberry patch." As previously stated, Little Turtle's father was a Miami chief, and his mother was a Mohican. According to Indian custom, he was a Mohican, and received no advantage from his father's rank. Consequently, he was not a chief by descent. However, his talents having attracted the notice of his fellow tribesmen, he was made chief of the Miami's while comparatively a young man. When twenty-four years of age we



View of Little Turtle Village Site, taken May, 1913.

hear of him with Burgoyne advancing from the north in his disastrous campaign against Saratoga, where he finally surrendered to General Gates, October 17th, 1777.

During the summer of 1780 we find the gallant and unfortunate LaBalm, a native Frenchman, who had sailed the year previous from France with LaFayette, at Kaskaskia and later at Vincennes. Here he recruited fifty or sixty men, and in the fall of the same year proceeded up the Wabash on his adventure against the trading post of Kekionga. The sudden appearance of a foe unknown as to character, numbers and designs, threw the

Indians into great alarm and caused them to flee in all directions. After remaining a short time and making plunder of the goods of some of the traders and Indians, he retired to near the Aboite creek, a tributary from the west into Little river, eight miles southwest of Fort Wayne, where he encamped. These traders, having invited the Indians to follow and attack LaBalm, soon rallied the warriors of the village and vicinity under the lead of their war chief, the Little Turtle, and falling upon them in the night massacred the entire party. Not one is said to have survived to relate the sad story of the expedition. It seems that Little Turtle's time was employed during the decade immediately following 1780, as a leader in various war expeditions against different parts of the frontier, especially Ohio river points, and the outposts of Kentucky.

In one of these expeditions to Kentucky he captured a boy about eleven years old by the name of William Wells, whom he adopted. Wells grew up to manhood and became a favorite of Little Turtle and wife. In time he won and married his adopted sister, Little Turtle's beautiful daughter, and thus became in fact the son-in-law of Little Turtle. He also became a valuable interpreter on numerous occasions between the Indians and whites. Little Turtle had another daughter who married a chief-tain by the name of Wak-shin-gah, and became the mother of Kil-so-quah. The latter now resides near Roanoke, Huntington County, Indiana, on a little farm with her son and daughter. She was 103 years old last May, and is the last full-blood Indian in the northwest living in the Wabash or Maumee valleys.

The first permanent settlement of the Northwest Territory was on the seventh of April, 1788, at Marietta, by General Rufus Putnam, composed of forty-seven person. A certain rivalry existed between two gentlemen as to who should cut down the first tree upon landing at Marietta. Captain Daniel Davis by accident selected a buckeye tree, and the other person a beech. Mr. Davis felled his tree first on account of its soft wood. Consequently Ohio was called from this incident the "Buckeye State." Cincinnati was settled on December 28th, 1788. This year was famous in the history of western emigration, as no less than twenty thousand persons, men, women and children, passed the

mouth of the Muskingum during the season on their journey down the Ohio river. In a very short time a territorial government was established, with General Arthur St. Clair as Governor.

The treaty of Paris in 1783, following the American Revolutionary War, did not bring peace with the Indian tribes of the northwest. The British, meanwhile, kept on good terms with the Indians, intrigued with them, and encouraged them in their hostilities against the Americans, which continued with savage fury. Murderous incursions by the Miamis and confederated



Little Turtle Village Site, where he was born 1752.

tribes from the Maumee and western countries were frequently attended with savage cruelties. The government decided upon immediate aggressive movements. To delay was only to encourage the Indians in their obstinacy, and the British in their unscrupulous work of feeding, clothing and equipping the Indians for their depredatory incursions against the Americans.

The first army in this Indian war organized by the general government was placed under command of General Josiah Harmar. His arrangements being completed, he left Fort Washington September 30th, 1790, with 320 regulars and 1,133 militia

and drafted men, making in all 1,453 men. General Harmar arrived at the Miami villages October 17th, and found them all deserted. He proceeded immediately to burn them and destroyed 20,000 bushels of corn. The 18th was spent in a fruitless attempt to locate the Indians. On the 19th Colonel Hardin led a detachment of three hundred men including a small number of regulars. They followed along an Indian trail to the northwest for about fifteen miles, or to within one mile of the present village of Cherubusco, and to within five miles of Little Turtle's famous village. Through the neglect of Colonel Hardin to give the command to move forward Falknor's company was left in the rear, possibly a mile or more. The absence of Falknor at the time became apparent. Major Fontaine, with a portion of the cavalry, was at once sent in pursuit of him with the supposition that he was lost. At this time the report of a gun in front of the detachment fell upon the attentive ear of Captain Armstrong in command of the regulars. When Armstrong informed Colonel Hardin that the fires of the Indians had been discerned the latter believed that the Indians would not fight and rode in front of the advancing columns. The detachment was soon fired on from an ambuscade both skilfully designed and vigorously executed by the skill and genius of the commanding Miami chief, Little Turtle, at the head of not more than one hundred and fifty warriors. The Indians on this occasion gained a complete victory, having killed nearly 100 men. The rout of Colonel Hardin and Captain Armstrong continued until they arrived that evening at the camp of General Harmar. Little Turtle still recruited his Indian army and slowly followed the trail to near Harmar's encampment, which was still located at the old Miami village site, at the head of the Maumee. On the evening of the twenty-first of October at 10 o'clock General Harmar left camp and started on his return to Fort Washington. Little Turtle, who was immediately apprised of this fact, was in possession of the old Miami village early on the morning of the 22nd. Colonel Hardin, surmising that the Indians had returned to the burned village, solicited General Harmar to let him return and inflict a more severe chastisement upon them. The request was granted and Colonel Hardin with Major Wyllys was sent back with a detach-

ment of 400 men. They too soon became entangled in the snares of the wily Little Turtle, who, on the point of land between the St. Joseph and the Maumee, inflicted another serious defeat to the American arms. Majors Hall and Fontaine, with a detachment of militia was to pass around the village at the head of the Maumee, cross the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph, gain the rear of the Indian encampment unobserved and await an attack by the main body of the troops in front. Those consisting of Major M. Mullins' battalion, and the regulars under Major Wyllys were



Location of Harmar's Ford, foot of Harmar St., Fort Wayne, Ind.

to cross the Maumee at the usual ford and thus surround the savages. The game was spoiled by the imprudence of Major Hall, who fired prematurely upon a solitary Indian and alarmed the encampment. The startled Miamis were instantly seen flying in different directions. The militia under Major Hall and the cavalry under Fontaine, who had crossed the river, started in pursuit in disobedience of orders, leaving the regulars under Wyllys, who had also crossed the Maumee, unsupported. The latter was attacked by Little Turtle and the main body of the Indians, and driven back with great slaughter.

Richardville, a half-blood about 10 or 12 years of age, was in the battle, and in later life often asserted that he could have crossed the stream upon the bodies dryshod. This man succeeded Little Turtle as Chief, and died at Fort Wayne in 1840. The above statement is from Lossing (*Field Book of the War of 1812*), who visited Fort Wayne in 1860. We also have another statement by this same Richardville taken from Bryce's "*History of Fort Wayne.*" His recollection of the way the Indians stole along the bank of the river near the point long since known as Harmar's ford, was most thrilling. Not a man among the Indians, said he, was to fire a gun until the white warriors under Harmar had gained the stream and were about to cross. Then the red men in the bushes, with rifles leveled and ready for action, just as the detachment of Harmar began to near the center of the Maumee opened a sudden and deadly fire in the stream, until the river was literally strewn from bank to bank with the slain, one upon the other, both horses and men, and the water ran red with blood. While this was going on at the ford, Majors Hall and Fontaine were skirmishing with parties of Indians a short distance up the St. Joseph. Fontaine, with a number of his followers, fell at the head of his mounted militia in making a charge. He was shot dead, and as he fell from his horse was immediately scalped. The remainder, with those under Hall and Fontaine, fell back in confusion toward the ford of the Maumee and followed the remnant of the regulars in their retreat. The Indians, who suffered a heavy loss, did not pursue. General Harmar at about this time, it seems, had lost all confidence in the militia and decided to return to Fort Washington at once. A considerable number of the regulars of General Harmar's army had followed Washington and other generals in the war of the Revolution.

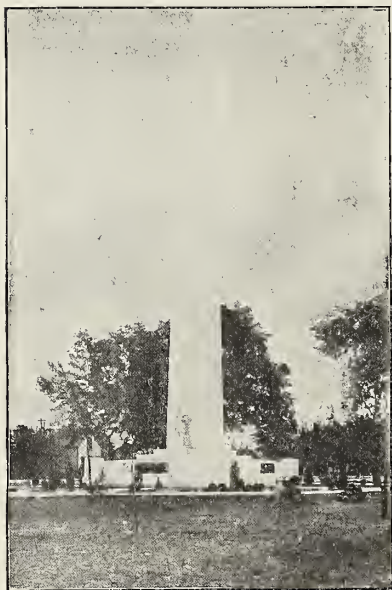
The slain of this little army were buried in the low bank near the ford of the Maumee, on the present site of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

The writer recently viewed the location of Harmar's ford, which lies at the foot of Harmar Street, Fort Wayne, Ind. It shows no sign of blood and carnage today. General Harmar was forced to struggle homeward to Fort Washington as best

he could, a greatly disappointed commander. It was indeed a dreary march.

Notwithstanding the loss that the Indians had suffered they became more angry than ever. All the western tribes made common cause with the Miamis and banded together in more open warfare, so that the settlers were kept in constant fear of the tomahawk and scalping knife.

It may be mentioned here that in the spring of 1791 the President appointed Governor St. Clair Major General, and placed him in command of the army in place of General Harmar,



Soldiers' Monument, Fort Recovery.

who resigned on his return to Fort Washington. Colonel Richard Butler was promoted to General and placed second in command. It was resolved to make another campaign against the Indians in the summer of the year above mentioned.

As other and various authors have so often and beautifully set forth in detail the preparation, march and arrival on the banks of the Wabash of St. Clair's army on the evening of November 3rd, 1791, we deem it unnecessary to repeat it here; but turn our attention to Little Turtle, who with great intelligence, craft and courage sought to

form a great confederacy among the western tribes, together with Blue Jacket, the great chief of the Shawanese, and Buckongahalas, chief of the Delawares, with other northwestern savages, whose object was to drive the white settlers beyond the Ohio river. These Chiefs, in combination with Girty, McKee and Elliott, and other renegades, headed a band of warriors whose discipline had probably never been equaled in Indian warfare.

Nothing but a decisive blow by a large and well-organized force could quell the uprising being now formulated by their leaders.

The poet well describes the situation at this time when he says:

"They rise by stream and yellow shore,
By meadow, moor and fen;
By weedy rock and torrents' roar
And lonesome forest glen.

"From many a weedy, moss-grown mound
Start forth a war worn band.
As when of old they caught the sound
Of hostile arms and closed around
To guard their native land."

The Indians, at the instigation of the British, contended for the Ohio river as the boundary of the United States. To get control of the upper lakes, and the valuable fur trade around them, was a favorite scheme of the British statesmen. It was even proposed as a *sine qua non* at the time, by the British commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Peace in 1814, that the Indians inhabiting that portion of the United States within the limits established by the Treaty of 1783, should be included as the allies of Great Britain in the projected pacification, and that the boundaries be settled for the Indian territory upon a basis which would have operated to surrender to a number of Indians, not to exceed a few thousand, the right of sovereignty as well as of soil over nearly one-third of the territorial dominion of the United States, inhabited by more than one hundred thousand of its citizens.

When the British left Fort George, at the foot of Broadway, New York, November 25th, 1783, they left their flag flying. It was believed that the absence of British authority in the United States would be only temporary, hence the continuation of the Indian wars in the northwest at their behest. The final war of 1812 is justly termed the second war for American Independence. The second war gave to every true-born American an idea of absolute independence forever from British thralldom.

It seems that Little Turtle was watching with an eagle's

eye for another opportunity to strike the American army. The coming victory over St. Clair was clearly the result not of overwhelming numbers, but of superior generalship. Here on the banks of the Wabash about daylight on the morning of November 4th, 1791, Little Turtle assailed St. Clair's army in front, on both flanks, and also at the rear near the close of the action, which was about half-past nine o'clock in the morning. At this time it became necessary to make a charge in order to clear the way to the road, so as to permit the retreat of the remnant of



Wayne St., Fort Recovery. Site of portion of St. Clair's Battle.

the army, which was hurled headlong down the trail, southward for a distance of three or four miles, with terrible slaughter by the victorious and triumphant Indian warriors.

No such defeat had heretofore occurred in American history, not even that of General Braddock in 1775. Down to the present time it has only been surpassed once, the disastrous defeat of General Custer on the Big Horn, June 25th, 1876. St. Clair's defeat was described by one Mr. Thomas Irwin in a diary which he kept at the time. He was a wagoner in St. Clair's army. He says, "That battle always reminded him of a

furious thunder storm that comes up quick and rapidly, and soon disappears, leaving havoc and desolation in its path."

The escape of Stephen Littell was remarkable. At the commencement of the battle he was in the extreme advance. Being unable to keep up with his comrades in their precipitate flight, he sprang aside and hid in a dense thicket as the yelling savages rushed by in hot pursuit. Here he remained some time in dreadful suspense as the roar of the battle died away in the distance, the Indians being in full chase of the flying army. He then ventured slowly forward until he reached the scene of the night's encampment. Awful was the scene presented to him there, the bodies of some seven hundred of the killed and wounded encumbering the ground for the space of about three hundred and fifty yards. It was a cold, frosty morning. The scalped heads presented a very revolting spectacle. A peculiar vapor or steam ascended from them all. Many of these poor creatures were still alive, and groans were heard on all sides. Several of the wounded, knowing that as soon as the savages returned they would be doomed to death by torture, implored young Littell to put an end to their misery. This he refused to do. Being anxious as to the fate of his father, and seeing among the dead one who bore a strong resemblance to him, he was in the act of turning over the body to examine the features when the exultant and terrific shouts of the returning savages fell upon his ear, and already he could see through the forest the plumed warriors rushing back. It so chanced that an evergreen tree of very dense foliage had been felled near where he stood. It was his only possible covert. He sprang into the tree and turned its branches as well he could around him. Scarcely had he done this when the savages came bounding upon the ground like so many demons. Immediately they commenced their fiend-like acts of torture upon all the wounded. The scenes he continued to witness were more awful than the imagination could possibly conceive. Here our subject remained until a suitable time arrived for him to make his escape, which he did—the only one left to tell the sad story of the awful battlefield.

to retrieve his broken fortunes, but when the years of the embargo came, and the values of all property in America suffered such terrible depreciation, he was compelled to stand by and see the last of his property, real and personal, sold by the sheriff, and himself left at nearly eighty years of age absolutely penniless, dependent upon the charity of his family and friends. In referring to this execution St. Clair himself wrote, "They left me a few books of my classical library, and the bust of John Paul Jones, which he sent me from Europe for which I was very grateful."

One of his sons built him a log cabin on a small piece of land on Chestnut Ridge, five miles west of Ligonier. Here he lived in honorable poverty until August 31st, 1818, when he died from the effects of an injury sustained in being thrown from a wagon while driving to town.

Thus this hero of two wars, and of countless deeds of faithfulness, bravery and self-denial in times of peace, was quietly interred in the little burying ground of the neighboring hamlet of Greensburg, Pennsylvania.

By a strange and sad coincidence General Clark, conqueror of the Great Northwest, and General St. Clair were both permitted to die in poverty, neglect and obscurity. Both met a similar fate at about the same age and in the same year.

The language of the epitaph upon the simple stone which was afterwards erected at the grave of St. Clair by his Masonic brethren has often been quoted and should still carry its earnest appeal to men of our time. It is as follows:

"The earthly remains of Major General Arthur St. Clair are deposited beneath this humble monument which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country."

It was nearly a year before the general government made another attempt for the conquest of the northwestern tribes, who, it seems, had so far been invincible in spite of all the efforts brought to bear upon them.

The next commander-in-chief of the American army to appear upon the arena of western warfare was General Anthony Wayne, who arrived at Fort Washington in April, 1793, with a well-organized army of some twenty-six hundred troops.

On the 13th of October, 1793, General Wayne arrived on the present site of Greenville, Ohio, at which location he built a fort and remained until July 28th, 1794.

On October 17th, just four days after Wayne arrived at Greenville, Little Turtle made a dash on a baggage and provision train on the trail seven miles north of Fort St. Clair (now Eaton, Ohio). The convoys were under command of Lieutenant Lowry, and Ensign Boyd, and were loaded with supplies and provisions for the army. In the affray which followed thirteen noncommissioned officers and privates were killed, including Lieutenant Lowry, and seventy pack horses were killed or driven away.

This incident shows plainly that Little Turtle was by no means idle, but was constantly hanging on the outskirts of Wayne's army, ever ready to strike a blow if the opportunity should present itself.

During the winter Wayne sent a detachment to the site of St. Clair's defeat, twenty-three miles north of Greenville, and built Fort Recovery. This post was garrisoned and placed in command of Captain Gibson.

On the 30th of June, 1794, Little Turtle attacked this post with a numerous body of Indians and was repulsed with heavy loss.

General Wayne, as before noted, left Greenville July 28th, 1794, and encamped the first night seven or eight miles north of that place in the vicinity of what is now Beamsville. It has been said that this was the time and place which Little Turtle suggested for a night attack on General Wayne, but was opposed by nearly all of the other chiefs in the council, and perhaps the most favorable opportunity was thus permitted to pass by. This statement, however, does not agree with that of Lieutenant Boyer, who was with the army. In his Journal he says, "that the army marched twelve miles on July 28th, and encamped on Stillwater, and that on the second night they encamped one mile beyond Fort Recovery. This is no doubt the true statement, and indicates that Wayne followed practically the same route as St. Clair. In the meantime Wayne was not

molested and arrived at the Fallen Timber, August 20th, in sight of Fort Miami, the British garrison on the Maumee.

On the night before the battle, it is said, the Indians held a council to decide what action should be taken. Blue Jacket was in favor of battle, but Little Turtle, who plainly foresaw the final trend of events by this time, was in favor of making peace. The latter said, "we have beaten the enemy twice under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a Chief



Site of Old Fort Wayne (Indiana).

who never sleeps; the night and day are alike to him, and during all the time he has been marching upon our village, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers to me, it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

Being reproached for cowardice, which was foreign to his nature, he laid aside resentment, and took part in the battle on the morrow, leaving the leadership to his opponent. The result of the battle proved his sagacity and wisdom.

After the victory of the Fallen Timber by General Wayne the army returned to Fort Defiance, on the 27th, having laid waste to villages and cornfields on both sides of the Maumee, for at least fifty miles.

The Indians were utterly disheartened by their great defeat and considered themselves very dishonorably treated by the British officers, who had spurred them on to the battle and then had abandoned them, and were eager for peace.

On the 17th of September, Wayne reached the Miami villages, where he located another stockade, which was called Fort Wayne. Leaving a garrison here the rest of the army set out on their return to Fort Greenville, which post they reached on the 2nd of November, where they went into winter quarters.

This campaign accomplished its intended object. The Indians were thoroughly humbled and subdued, their houses were destroyed, their country ravaged, their supplies consumed. They no longer cherished any hope of being able to check the advance of the white man. In this state of extreme suffering, they were anxious for such terms as the conqueror might dictate.

Early in January, 1795, movements were made for the assembly of a general council of the Indian tribes of the Northwest to enter into a treaty of peace and friendship. Little Turtle was the principal leader of the Indian forces that defeated General Harmar on the Maumee river in October, 1790, and General Arthur St. Clair on the Wabash, November 4th, 1791, and he and Blue Jacket were among the foremost leaders of the Indians in their conflict with General Wayne's army in 1794. Nevertheless, he urged the Indians to make peace with this "Chief-who-never-sleeps," after their defeat by the whites. He joined in the treaty at Fort Greenville, August 3rd, 1795, having arrived at that post on the 23rd of June.

"I am the last to sign it, and will be the last to break it," he said. Faithful to his promise he remained passive and counseled peace on the part of his people until his death at Fort Wayne, July 14th, 1812.

Even his enemies paid tribute to his memory. His remains were interred about the center of the old orchard, with all his adornments, implements of war, a sword presented to him by

General Washington, together with a medal with the likeness of Washington thereon. All these objects were laid by the side of the body and hidden beneath the sod in one common grave.

It is said that one Mr. J. P. Hedges and others knew the exact spot up to about 1860. Mentioning the orchard in the center of which Little Turtle was buried calls to mind the historic renown of the famous old apple tree of more recent years, which stood alone, a silent, historic memento of years gone by, revered by both white and red men. It was out of this tree that an Indian during the siege of Fort Wayne in 1812 was



Fort Wayne as it appeared in 1794.

shot by one of the soldiers from the fort, at a distance of many hundred yards. In an exulting spirit one of the besiegers was in the habit of climbing the tree each day for several days, and throwing his arms much like the rooster flaps his wings when crowing, would utter a noise very like this fowl. This challenge was finally answered by the crack of a doubly charged rifle from the fort and the Indian was seen to fall. This tree has long since died and fallen to the ground, and remains only in the distant memory of the citizens of Allen County and the city of Fort Wayne.

Bryce tell us, "that Little Turtle died in his lodge or camp at the old orchard, a short distance north of the confluence of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, in the yard fronting the house of his son-in-law, Captain William Wells. He had suffered for many months previous with the gout and came here from his place of residence at Little Turtle's village on Blue river, about twenty miles northwest of Fort Wayne, to be treated by the United States army surgeon at the Fort. It was a solemn and interesting occasion.

After the treaty of Greenville, Little Turtle had remained the true and faithful friend of the Americans and the United States government, and was very much beloved and respected by all who knew him. Tecumseh strove hard to gain his confidence and aid, but without effect, for nothing could move him from his purpose of peace and good will toward the Americans. In the language of one who was present at his burial, "His body was borne to the grave with the highest honors by his great enemy, the white man. The muffled drum, the solemn march, the funeral salute announced that a great soldier had fallen."

We are informed by Mr. J. M. Stouder, who has been a life-long citizen of Fort Wayne, from good authority that his winding sheet was a green blanket of beautiful design and that the funeral oration was delivered by Chief Coessie, a grandson.

The treaty of Greenville having been held during the summer of 1795, in a great council of chiefs and warriors, negotiations continued for six weeks. On the third of August the treaty was signed, General Wayne acting as commissioner plenipotentiary in behalf of the United States. The following tribes were represented, being twelve in number, viz.: The Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshkas and Kaskaskias. The boundary lines between the Indian lands and those of the United States were here permanently located.

At the close of the year 1796, General Wayne, returning from Detroit to the Eastern states, was taken sick in a humble log cabin at Presque Isle, on the shores of Lake Erie (now Erie, Pa.). Here, after a short illness, he died. General Wayne did not receive during his life the honors to which he was entitled for the

services he had rendered his country. Had he failed in his campaign all the southern Indians, from the Savannah river to the Mississippi, would undoubtedly have combined with the north-western tribes, and scenes of devastation, woe and death would have ensued, which even the imagination can scarcely exaggerate.

We are informed that the plan of attack on St. Clair's army the morning of November 4th was conceived by Little Turtle alone in opposition to the opinion of almost every other chief. His shrewdness and ability as a great military commander were never excelled by any other Chieftain.



Greenville Creek, vicinity of Site where Treaty was signed in 1795.

At the Greenville treaty the new government presented Little Turtle and other participating chiefs a beautiful silver medal, which was highly prized by the savages. This medal was a facsimile of the Red Jacket medal, except that the date engraved thereon was 1795. It was oblong in shape and four by six inches in size. The Red Jacket medal was presented to Chief Red Jacket in the spring of 1792, at Philadelphia, by President Washington. It is now in the custody of the Buffalo Historical Society.

From time immemorial loyalty has been rewarded by the con-

ferring of land and titles of nobility, by the personal thanks of the sovereign, the presentation of medals and the bestowal of knightly honors, the insignia of which were hung on the breast of the recipient. With the Indian chief of the western tribes it was the same.

The following is a complete description of the Greenville treaty medal: On the obverse side President Washington is represented in uniform, bareheaded, facing to the right and presenting a pipe to an Indian chief, who is smoking it. The Indian is standing and has a large medal suspended from his neck. On the left is a pine tree at the foot of which lies a tomahawk. In the background is a farmer plowing. Below, in exergue, "George Washington, President, 1795". On the reverse side appears the arms and crest of the United States on the breast of an eagle. In the eagle's right talon is an olive branch; in the left, a sheaf of arrows; in its beak, the motto "E pluribus unum"; above, a glory breaking through the clouds and surrounded by thirteen stars.

It seems that the Little Turtle medal is now lost, as we have so far failed to find it among any of his descendants, or to learn where any of them have disposed of it. It was not interred with him at his burial, as its absence was especially noticed from all the things that were taken from the grave. Its present location seems to be entirely unknown to any person now living.

However, one of these medals were presented to Wa-pa-man-qua, or White Loon, a Wea chief, and secured from one of his descendants in Oklahoma, by D. B. Dyer of Augusta, Ga. It is now in the public museum of Kansas City, Mo. Another was presented to She-mock-in-wak, or Soldier, as he was commonly called, chief of the Eel river Miamis. We learn that one of the above-named chiefs of Miami County, Indiana, whose name was John Eveline, sold this medal about 1906 to parties in Chicago whose names we are unable to learn. So this is about all we are able to say concerning any and all of the Greenville treaty medals given out by the government at the treaty in 1795, to the various chiefs and warriors there assembled.

After Little Turtle's death, Pesh-e-wak succeeded him as Chief of the Miamis. He was better known on the frontier as John B. Richardville. This chief was born on the St. Mary's

river near the present Fort Wayne, about 1761. Inheriting noble French blood on his father's side, his abilities were such, it is said, as well adapted him to direct the affairs of the Miamis. He



PLAN OF ST. CLAIR'S CAMP AND BATTLE.

EXPLANATION.

a.—Butler's Battalion. b. b.—Artillery. c.—Clark's Battalion. d.—Patterson's Battalion. e.—Faulkner's Rifle Company. f. f.—Cavalry. g.—Detachment of Second U. S. Regiment. h.—Gaither's Battalion. j.—Beddinger's Battalion. b. n., p.—Flank Guards. o 2.—Pickets. s.—Swamp. m.—Camp Guard. The numerous crosses represent the Indian Enemy. z. z.—Troops retreating. The crooked stream, the Wabash River.

spoke French and English fluently, as well as his native Indian tongue, and for many years his house on the banks of the St. Mary's river, about four miles from Fort Wayne, was known as

the abode of hospitality. At the time of his death, August 13th, 1841, Pesh-e-wak was about eighty years old, and was regarded as the wealthiest Indian in North America. His property is said to have been valued at more than a million dollars.

Early in 1797, accompanied by Captain Wells, his son-in-law, Little Turtle visited President Washington at Philadelphia, where he met General Kosciusko, the latter presenting him with his own pair of elegantly mounted pistols.

Although Tecumseh endeavored to draw him away from his peaceful relations with the whites his efforts were in vain. Little Turtle signed the following treaties with the United States: Greenville, August 3rd, 1795; Fort Wayne, June 17th, 1803; Vincennes, August 21st, 1805; Fort Wayne, September 30th, 1809. From the time he signed the treaty of Greenville, he lived in amity with and was a friend of the American people.

To the honor of all true-born Americans, a grateful government has recently paid a just debt of love and esteem to the heroes who died on the battlefield of Fort Recovery, by the erecting and unveiling, on July the 1st, 1913, a granite shaft 101½ feet high, with a base 35 feet square. A heroic figure, typifying the early scout and settler, stands on the northern side of the shaft. This figure is nine feet high, and is one of the most impressive features of the monument. With face stern and unyielding, foot and leg striding forward, flintlock and powder horn in hand, it seems to be ever advancing toward the great Northwest of which this region was once typical. It represents the conquest of the Northwest, the progress of the nation and the advancement of civilization. Above all it commemorates the lives which were sacrificed, that all this might be achieved, and seems to cast over all surroundings the calm and quiet of a benediction. The dedication took place on the one hundred and nineteenth anniversary of Little Turtle's second attack on Fort Recovery, and in the one hundred and twenty-second year after the first battle. This monument is composed of North Carolina granite, and was erected through an appropriation by the general government, of twenty-five thousand dollars, secured by the personal efforts of Congressman W. E. Touville.

Little Turtle had somewhat of a remarkable mind, was for

many years the leading spirit among the Miamis, was surpassed for bravery and intelligence perhaps by none of his race. He was of an inquiring turn of mind, and never lost an opportunity to gain some valuable information upon almost every subject or object that attracted his attention. He sought by every means in his power during the latter days of his life to relieve his people from every debasing habit, encouraging them only in the more peaceful, sober and industrious relations of life. Each evening he is said to have called the children of the village together, telling them an amusing story and giving them a short lecture in



The Aboite River Massacre. From an old print.

which he advised them to be industrious, shun strong drink and not to take anything that did not belong to them.

It is said of Little Turtle that he never was intoxicated, and did all in his power to keep his people from drink. He urged the Indians to avoid it by word and example, and gained the rare distinction of securing the first prohibition law against the liquor traffic ever enacted by the United States government. He visited the legislatures of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, as well as Congress, and begged for the prohibition of intoxicating liquors among the Indians. In a speech which was taken down in short-

hand at the time, he denounced drink as a ruinous evil that destroyed great numbers of his tribesmen's lives, that caused the young men to say, "We had better be at war with the white people, for this liquor that they introduce into our country is more to be feared than the gun or the tomahawk. More of us have died since the Treaty of Greenville than we lost by the years of war before, and it is all owing to the introduction of this liquor among us."

In 1798 he traveled from his home in Indiana to Philadelphia to plead with President John Adams for protection for the Indians against the whisky traffic, telling him that liquor had destroyed three thousand Indians alone during the preceding year. However, he failed to secure any results at this time.

In 1801 he again visited the east and interested the Baltimore yearly meeting of Friends in behalf of his cause. The meeting appointed a committee to go with him to Washington to present the matter to President Jefferson. The President looked into the subject and sent a special message (the first of the kind ever given) to Congress that resulted in the passing of the act of March 30th, 1802, in which Congress empowered the President to take steps to eliminate the traffic from the Indian country. Thus Little Turtle is the real father of the first prohibition law ever enacted in this country.

In the month of January, 1812, Little Turtle warned General Harrison by a messenger of the signs of an approaching war with Great Britain, expressing for himself his attachment to the government of the United States. It seems that shortly after his death a part of the Miamis at least, were inclined to adhere to the British and to show signs of hostility, so much so that a little over two months after his death, General Harrison was compelled to order Colonel Simrall with a regiment of dragoons, armed with muskets and numbering some three hundred and twenty men, also a company of mounted riflemen under Colonel Farrow, to destroy Little Turtle's town, some twenty miles northwest of Fort Wayne, with strict orders not to molest the buildings formerly erected by the United States for the benefit of Little Turtle, whose friendship for the Americans had ever been firm after the Treaty of Greenville. Colonel Simrall most faithfully performed the task

assigned him, and on the evening of the 19th returned to the fort. The house of Little Turtle, built by the government, was thus preserved.

The writer has often talked with an old trapper and hunter, by the name of William Gaff, who died about 1867. This old trapper had frequently camped for several weeks, twenty or twenty-five years before, in the famous Little Turtle house, shortly after all the Indians had left. He said he had drank water out of an old gourd from the spring at the foot of the hill.



View of Landscape adjoining Devil's Lake, near site of Little Turtle Village.

"Deserted was his own good hall,
His hearth was desolate;
Wild weeds had gathered on the wall,
The wolf howled at the gate."

Forest and prairie fires finally destroyed the last vestige of all Indian remains, and Little Turtle's village became a thing of the past.

"Away those winged years have flown to gain the mass

of ages gone." Later, about 1839, a number of the Miamis, with other tribes, were taken west by way of Cincinnati and the Ohio. They stopped at Greenville long enough to pay a last visit of respect to the old home of Tecumseh and the Prophet. In this connection a strange incident was related by one Mr. Steven Hiland, an old gentleman, who lived in Greenville, O., in 1880, but had been a citizen of Hamilton County, Ohio, in early days. He stated that when the Indians saw the tomb of General Harrison at North Bend, and learned that it was the grave of the old hero of Tippecanoe, they at once expressed a desire to land and pay a last tribute of respect to the departed dead. This privilege being granted, they then assembled around his tomb, kneeling and uttering words in their native tongue, after which they arose and resumed their journey. The interpreter afterward informed the commanding officer that what the Indians said in substance at the tomb of General Harrison was this, "Farewell Ohio and your bravest warrior."

"Adieu to the graves where my forefathers rest,
For I must be going to the far distant west;
I've sold my possessions, my heart fills with woe,
To think I must leave them. Alas, I must go.

"Farewell, ye tall oaks in whose pleasant green shade
In childhood I sported, in innocence played;
My dog and my hatchet, my arrows and bow,
Are still in remembrance. Alas, I must go.

"Adieu, ye loved scenes which bind me like chains,
Where on my gay pony I chased o'er the plains,
The deer and the turkey I tracked in the snow,
But now I must leave them. Alas, I must go.

"Adieu to the trails which for many a year,
I traveled to spy the turkey and deer;
The hills, trees and flowers that pleased me so
I must now leave. Alas, I must go."

Little Turtle's name was spelled and also pronounced different ways, but at the Treaty of Greenville it was spelled *Me-she-kin-no-quah*. Mr. J. P. Dunn, author of "The Indian Stories," says, "This name was commonly known as "The Little Turtle,"

but that is not what his name means. Literally it means "the great turtle's wife," but it is not in that sense that it applied to this great chief. The Miamis have specific names for the most common turtle: At-che-pong, for snapping turtle; Ah-koot-yak, for the soft-shelled turtle; We-weet-chah, for the box turtle; and Me-she-kin-no-quah, for the painted terrapin. This last is the commonest of all the turtles in this region, and the most gaudily colored, which probably explains its Indian name, for who should be handsomely dressed if not the wife of the



Devil's Lake, Near Site of Little Turtle's Village.

Great Turtle, who typifies the earth and who was the chief beneficent manitou of the Algonquin tribes in the olden times? But when it came to translation the interpreters knew no specific English name for the painted terrapin, which is a little turtle, never growing more than six or eight inches across. They conveyed the ideas as well as they could by saying, "The Little Turtle." "The Little Turtle was probably a puny infant, which may account for his name, for a more sprawling, helpless, looking creature than a newly hatched, painted terrapin can hardly be imagined."

He was thirty-nine years old at the time of St. Clair's defeat, and sixty years old at the time of his death. It seemed that his grave had been lost to all human knowledge, and that the most diligent search in recent times had failed to locate the exact place of his burial. Thus, after sleeping in an unknown grave for a number of years in the vicinity of his former glory, his remains were accidentally found on July 4th, 1911. Two brothers, Albert and Charles Lockner, who had contracted to build a house for Dr. George W. Gillie on Lawton Place, lot 28, near the west bank of the St. Joseph river, while engaged in digging the cellar, uncovered the supposed remains of the great Miami War Chief.

We herewith give the account of the finding of the grave as related by Mr. J. M. Stouder, of whom we will have more to say later. The date of the discovery will hereafter be of interest to the citizens of Fort Wayne and Allen County, and indeed, to all persons interested in the early settlement of the Northwest Territory. The Lockner brothers soon found a number of Indian skeletons in digging out the cellar, which was, no doubt, the last burying ground of the Miamis at Fort Wayne. Noticing that whatever was in the graves was appropriated by the laborers, the contractors called off the crew, and with the assistance of Dr. George Gillie proceeded to finish the cellar and to dig the drain for the same. In this cellar drain the grave of Little Turtle was found. The finders had no idea of the identity of the body. About the neck of the chief was found the string of silver beads and crosses, and in the few remaining tufts of hair on the back of the skull was the string of white shell beads. The hair was also tied with a buckskin thong, and from the description given by the Lockner brothers, was well preserved. The vermilion plait was beneath the Chieftain's knees, the silver armlets on his arms, and the anklets and the famous sword, guns and remnants of the pistols were at his side. The various other implements had been placed in different parts of the grave and had probably become disarranged in the digging of the drain. On the breast were the silver disks believed to be medals. They were fastened together by

means of a buckskin thong and are shown in the collection just as they were found.

About a month later Mr. J. M. Stouder had occasion to visit the house of Albert Lockner and asked to see the Indian relics that he knew he had in his possession as he always was interested in such discoveries. He was immediately struck by the apparent wealth and importance of the find and began an investigation as to the identity of the remains of the person in the grave. Early in his research work he became convinced that



Kil-so-Quah, born May, 1810. Her son and daughter Roanoke,
Photo taken June, 1913.

Albert and Charles Lockner and Dr. Gillie had discovered the grave of Little Turtle. He says that he was greatly indebted to Miss Eliza Rudisell, Mr. Howard Hanthorn and Mr. Charles Warden for the assistance they gave him in identifying the grave of the greatest chief of his time.

The articles taken from the grave are: Eight silver bracelets; two silver anklets; one heavy metal bracelet; three silver medals; four silver brooches; one pair of silver earrings; six pendants; one string of silver beads; twenty-three silver crosses

each one inch long; one sword, which we are certain is that presented to the Chief by General George Washington; one string of white silver beads; four metal buttons; one small pocket knife; one large clasp knife of very odd design; one drinking cup; one metal spoon; one pair of shears; one hammer; one gun barrel, from which rotten portions of the stock fell when it was lifted from the grave; one pair of bullet molds; one flint lock; the remains of a pistol; three large knives; one pair of steel spurs; one ax; one tomahawk; and copper kettle containing, when found, beans and corn, which went to a fine powder when exposed to the air. We are satisfied that the grave of no ordinary Indian would have contained this costly and various display of riches, and that this is undoubtedly an accidental and genuine find of the remains of Little Turtle.

W. D. Schiefer, of the Schiefer Shoe Store, says that while he resided on the old Barnett place in 1875 a man named Hedges, who had been present at the burial of Little Turtle, had pointed out to him the exact location of the grave, as well as he could remember, without any suggestions from any one. Although he had not been in the locality since Spy Run had been laid out, Mr. Schiefer located the spot within one hundred feet of the place where the grave was uncovered.

The standing of Mr. J. M. Stouder, a hardware dealer at 122 East Columbia St., Fort Wayne, Ind., who identified the grave and its remains, preserved the relics and marked the spot at his own expense for all time, is high. Too much credit can not be given this man. In justice to historical facts relating to the find and identity of this long-lost grave, it is said, "That Mr. Stouder is an almost life-long citizen of Fort Wayne, that he is regarded by his fellow townsmen as a straightforward, upright, enterprising citizen. He is a member of high standing in the Free Mason Lodge, highly esteemed by all who know him." This discovery is regarded as genuine by the people of Fort Wayne and vicinity, as well as by all scientific and historical experts, who have seen fit to investigate this most remarkable and important discovery, historically considered, of recent times.

William Geakie, of the city of Fort Wayne, has in his possession in his safe vault, in the First National Bank, the gold watch that belonged to Little Turtle and worn by him for many years. The watch is beautiful in design and workmanship. It was purchased in England at a cost of approximately \$400.00, was presented to the Chief by the British during the time the English government was currying the favor and agitating the Indians in uprisings against the new republic. It was a bribe both pure and simple, conceived by the duplicity of English statesmen. At the death of Little Turtle the watch became the property of the succeeding chief and went on down the line of the successive leaders of the tribe until it reached George Godfrey, whose father was the last real chief of the Miamis in this section of the country.

George Godfrey, who lived on the reservation south of the city, became ill of a complication of diseases. Seven years ago he was brought to the Hope Hospital for treatment, his condition was hopeless and he realized that he could not recover. He had become a member of the Masonic Lodge many years before at the request of Mr. Geakie, who was one of his closest friends, a member of the Scottish Rite, a Knight Templar and a Shriner. Two weeks before his death came, he urged Mr. Geakie, who was his daily visitor at the hospital, to accept the watch as a last token of friendship. For several years it had been locked in the safe at the Dallas & Green jewelry store. When Mr. Geakie toured Europe several years ago he took the watch with him, and one of the most noted jewelers in London cleaned and repaired the timepiece. Though nearly 150 years old the watch still keeps perfect time.

Robert Koerber, of Trenkley & Koerber, was shown the watch. He at once became very much interested, recognizing it as one of the rare old English makes. He took the numbers of the case and works, and the name of the makers, Motobis & Company, of Liverpool, England. On the back of the watch are engraved the initials of John Richardville Godfrey, who married into Little Turtle's family, and became a chief. The watch is now held as a priceless relic by William Geakie, of Fort Wayne.

On August 4th, 1913, the writer, in company with Mr. J. M. Stouder, paid a visit to Roanoke, Huntington County, 16 miles southwest of Fort Wayne, where we called on Dr. S. Koontz, who kindly directed us to the home of Kil-soqua (The Setting Sun), about a mile distant. This woman is a granddaughter of the chief, Little Turtle, and was born in May, 1810, making her now about 104 years of age. Found her enjoying reasonable health for one of her age, with eye-



Face of Little Turtle's Watch.



Back of Little Turtle's Watch.

sight somewhat dim, seated in a great-arm rocking chair. After introduction and presents of tobacco and other trinkets, the smoking of tobacco finished, a conversation followed through the son, Tony, as interpreter, as she herself speaks no English. Mr. Stouder mentioned the accidental find of the grave of her grandfather, and of the care he had taken to place a marker over the remains so that the exact spot could never again become lost, and of the prospect in the near future of a suitable monument to mark the grave. The writer of these pages confirmed this statement of facts, having seen the marble slab with name and

date thereon, "Little Turtle, Born 1752. Died 1812." She asked about the relics found with him which she thought were unquestionable, and seemed very much pleased when informed that they were all together in one case in a fireproof building and would be sacredly preserved, and when we left the place she desired her son to inform us that she fervently thanked God for the interest the two white men took in honoring her with a visit, and especially for the tribute of honor paid by them to her distinguished grandfather.

A copy of the "Journal Gazette" containing the article at the time of the discovery was taken to her and before her son had scarcely commenced to read it to her, she gave a very accurate account of the location of the grave and came within a few hundred feet of telling where it was located. She told of the sword and described the different things which were buried with him on account of his rank. She claimed that she had seen him often and remembered distinctly of combing his hair and of being his favorite child, said that during her younger days she had often visited his grave. She has a vivid recollection of what was called the falling of the stars November 13th, 1833. Her father was Wak-shin-gay, a son of Little Turtle; her mother was a daughter of Chief She-wock-e-wish, one of the bravest Miami warriors. Born in May, 1810, and still living in fairly good health is a distinction that Roanoke is proud of. A government grant of land was made to her father in Ohio, but he traded it for 320 acres near Roanoke. He farmed it for sixteen years and died in 1846. Her husband's bones and relics are in a box in Dr. Koontz's office at Roanoke; these remains will be reburied at Kil-so-quas's side at her death. His body was taken up at her request some four years ago, as the site was soon to be lost, the ground being cleared and farmed over. Her memory was so accurate, that she located the grave within six inches of the skull, after the men had given up all hopes of finding the remains.

Kil-so-quas married a half-breed, French and Indian, by the name of Revarre, who died nearly sixty years ago; two children only remain, both of whom are now with her. Anthony Revarre,



Articles found in grave of Little Turtle.



Sword of Little Turtle.

whose Indian name is Wah-pl-mon-quah (White Loon), has always remained with his mother, taking good care of her and acting as interpreter for her when strangers give them a call. A few months ago her daughter arrived here from the Miami reservation, Oklahoma, where she has a home of her own. Her name is Mary E. Taylor, her Indian name is Town-no-com-quah (Blowing Snow), and she is assisting to take care of her aged mother. She is quite a genteel and courteous lady, with an English education, writing very plainly her name and address, her Indian name and its meaning, for me. There are no grandchildren, so this branch of Little Turtle's family will shortly become extinct.

The bones of Chief Coessie were taken up from the same location at the same time as those of Mr. Revarre, the husband of Kil-so-qua, and expressed to Columbia City with the understanding that they were to be buried on the Court House grounds, and a suitable monument in time to be erected thereon. But a storm of opposition from the citizens for the time has delayed the execution of this design. So the remains of Coessie, a grandchild of Little Turtle, are now held in the Columbia City Bank, owned by the McClellan brothers. They still hope at some future time to accomplish their object and erect a statue suitable to his name and honor. He was a son of Ma-kah-ta-mon-quah or Black Loon; Kil-so-qua's father was Wak-shin-gay. Their only sister's name was Wan-man-go-pith or Sweet Breeze. She was married to William Wells, the adopted son of Little Turtle.

These three children, Ma-kak-ta-mon-quah, Wak-shin-gay, and Wan-man-go-pith, are all of Little Turtle's family of which we have any record. The descendants of William Wells now inhabit the region of the lower Maumee valley. One, Mr. J. M. Wolcott, a recent mayor of Maumee City, is one of the descendants of William Wells, also another family by the name of Gilbert. We here refer the reader to a sketch in 18th volume of Ohio Archaeological and Historical Reports, by N. B. C. Love, concerning this branch of the family. The remnants of the Miamis were conducted to their reservation west of the Mississippi by Alexander Coquillard in 1847 and 1851. There still remained about 600 Indians on the reservation near Peru, Indiana, in 1854, but nearly all of these followed in a short time afterward. The

last remnant of the tribe now reside on the Quapaw reservation in Oklahoma and number about fifty souls.

Pontiac was assassinated in 1767 at a great Indian council in Illinois, near St. Louis. He had just finished a war speech wherein he favored the continuance of war against the English. An Indian of the Peoria tribe was present as a spy to report the proceedings of this council to the English. This Indian at the close of the speech plunged his knife into his heart and the great Chieftain fell dead upon the spot.

Tecumseh was killed in the battle of the Thames, Oct. 5th., 1813, at the head of 2500 Indian allies. Mr. Caleb Atwater tells us that he fell at the very first fire of the Kentucky dragoons, pierced by several bullets. Thus both of them died a violent death, one while engaged in stirring up strife, turmoil and war, the other in battle, in a terrific assault against his inveterate enemies, the Americans. Both died with enmity and vengeance against the pale face.

Not so with Little Turtle. After a comparative study of those three great Indian Chieftains we are convinced that Little Turtle had a wider conception of the future welfare and well-being of his race than either of the two former Chieftains, and in contrast to them died in peace and friendship with the Americans, and was by them laid to rest beside the peaceful waters of the river St. Joseph. It has been said that the sun of Indian glory set with him, and when Little Turtle and Tecumseh passed away the clouds and shadows which for two hundred years had threatened, gathered around their race in the starless night of death.

He was the noblest Roman of them all, for, like Pontiac, thirty years before, he was the soul of fire. Every one who reads these pages and the final treaty of Greenville will be impressed with his high courage and the manly stand which he took for his race and the hunting grounds of his fathers.

And in conclusion, will say that we have reason to be concerned lest we have failed to properly convey in suitable language the noble attributes of character, commensurate with the sterling qualities of soul, body and mind, which Little Turtle possessed to a marked degree.

And now to this child of the forest may peace be to his
ashes, and may his spirit dwell in the happy hunting grounds of
the Indian race forever.

'Tis weary watching wave by wave -
And yet the tide heaves onward
We climb like corals grave by grave
But pave a path that's sunward.

We're beaten back in many a fray,
But newer strength we borrow;
And where the vanguard camps today
The rear shall rest tomorrow.



ROBERT YOST HIS BOOK.

Rob't Yost his Book made for the purpose of noting down our Marching and what we seen and expericet while in the united States service beginning at St Clearsville Ohio Sept. the third Eighteen hundred and thirteen and continued to note down as we marcht.

AN ORIGINAL JOURNAL, REPRODUCED AS WRITTEN.

[The original of this Journal is now in the possession of J. W. Yost, a direct descendant of Robert, the author. Mr. J. W. Yost had the Journal reproduced in exact expression, spelling and punctuation for the QUARTERLY. — Editor.]

Decm the 3 1813 By the authourity of his excelency G. Meggs [Meigs] we were Called upon to Repair to the frontiers as a defence for them and on the third day of Sept. in the yeat of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirteen we Rendevoised in St. Clearsvill where we remaind until Sunday the 5 and then we formd the line of march in much confution and under the vew of many of our beloved friends and fellow Citizens who escorted us for some distance our Companys under the Command of Stephenson and Howel on that days march was from St Clearsville to Morristown which was ten miles and there encamped and there was joined by the Riphel Company under the command of D. Conner and the morning of the sixth we formed the line of march in morristown streets where the Rev Mr Clark gave us a very solem adress on the words Righteousness exalteth a nation and after solem prayer we were dismissed and then marched for Barnesville and encamped there that night and was joined by another Company under the Command of T Shannon the next morning the 7 we took up the line of march for head quarters and come to bernerstown that day and encamped there til next morning the 8 we took up the line of march About one o'clock we came to Cambridg and encamped until thursday morning which day it rained on us which made it disagreeable

·marching and this days march was 12 miles and we encamped at Sault Creek where we lost our beef forwarded Care of the Commissary which caused much confution amongst the men but they the men generally had some money they suplied themselves and on Friday morning we proceeded on our march to Zanesvill where we arrived that evening in great spirrits where we remaind until sunday evening at this place we were much dissatisfied with the gentry of Zanesvill as they apeard disoblidging to our troops and and we being illy provided for with Camp aquipage was much depending on the goodness of our fellow Citizens for Cooking utensals. at this place Capt. Stephenson drew many things for his men such as blankets shoes flanel and broad cloath for Coats Sunday the 12 in the afternoon we formed the line of march being joined by Capts Wiliams Thornley & Richeson and then pasd the muskingdom river into springfield where we drew six bake ovens and then Continued our march for two miles and then for the first time encamped in the woods without tents which Caused much Confution amongst the men and dissattisfaction for we Had nothing betr then brush to shelter us from the rain and storm and then proceeded on our march 14 miles and then encampd for the night which was monday this days march was through a good settlement the water was good and plenty of fruit which Causd much Disorder amongst the troops as they seemd like men who had forgot there was Boundary lines which all men ought to observe and all men ought to enjoy the fruits of his honest labours undisturbed without his Consent tuesday the 14 we marcht 20 miles and encampd within two miles and a half of lancaster that night on the morning of the 15 we arived in new LanCaster and within one half mile on the norwest side we encampt where we remained until the 18 new lancaster is a beautiful situation generally inhabited by the dutch this town is built on on the waters hocking a flourishing place on the morning of the 18 we again formed the line of march and Came 14 miles and encampt on walnut Creek this days march was through a beautiful track of land but thinly inhabited 19 from thence we took up the line of march and that evening we Came to frankelton and pased through the town in good order under the vew of many of the Citizens and encampt

about one half mile on the west side of the town franklinton is a very beautiful situation lies in the forks of the Sioto it is a very flourishing place at present at this place we was met by Governor Meigs Here we drew our arms at this place we saw 21 of the british prisoners that was taken by Major Croughen [Croghan] at lower sandusky here we Remained until sunday the 20 in the afternoon when we took up the line of march and Proceeded four miles up the whetstone and then encamp for that night tuesday the 22 early on this morning we took up the line of march and about 11 oClock we arrived at Delliware and passed through said place and encamp within a half mile on the nor west side of said town which is built on the waters of whetstone the land which—at this place I wrote a letter to Zane—we marchd over up whetstone is most beautiful and the water is good with but few inhabitents at this place we Remained until the afternoon of the 24 when we took up the line of march for six miles and then encamp for that night the 25 on this morning we took up the line of march pased by norton and encamp near the old boundry line on the 26 this days we marcht 20 miles and encamp on the east fork of Sandusky on the 27 this day we marched 20 miles and encamp that night these two days march was over a very level track of land with considerable planes with here and there groves of timber standing on the 28 we took up the line of march and come to uper Sandusky which was 7 miles and Capt Thornley took command at this place and on this day we met about three hundred British prisoners taken by Commedore Perry on Lake Eary uper sandusky is a most beautiful place with few inhabitance but near this place there many indians who prfes to be friends to the States we lay at this place until the 30 without tents exposed to the Rain and storm with nothing but bushes and brush to cover us from the storm on the morning of the 30 we again took up the line of march and Came 15 miles and encamp on the waters of the tiamothti [Temochtee] on the morning of the first of oCt we again took up the line of march and Came past fort Ball and then to senneca [Fort Seneca] and there encamp until the 7 where we saw many of our fellow citizens a languishing in distress for the want of Care and a number died of the regulars and some of the Caintucky militia while we

lay at this place we had an alarm that the indians was doing mischief on the roade to uper Sandusky and there was two Companys turned out in persuit of them but the alarm was falce while we lay at this place General Geno came with the second ridgment from the second brigade of ohio militia Senica is a handsome place lying on the bank of the sandusky River and has formerly been selected by the indians. While we lay at this place there was another Company detached from our Ridgment and two more from the Second Ridgment and Major Wm Henderson and sent as as escort for a Drove of Cattle which was ordered on to Detroit for the use of the army of the United States which is now in possession of the sons of Liberty and general Harrison is now in possession of maldon [Malden] and sandwitch and has taken about four hundred of the British soldiers up the river Detrench and Tecumsey is slain and gone to the world of spirrits and is here no more but on oct the 7 we left Senica and marcht for Lower Sandusky and got there that day which is nine miles and lower Sandusky is a very handsome situation it lays on high ground the place that Mager Craughen [Croghan] so nobly defended with a handful of men there is but few men in the fort at this time but Capt Thornley is to take Command of the fort who is a very worthy man while we lay at this place Capt Howel and his Company vollenteerd for the purpose of boating from Sandusky to portage such as provisions and Clothing while we lay at this place Major lewis Came up with us he took the greatest paines to instruct the troops and it is a pleasing thing to see such a good officer as Major Lewis at the head of so many fine troops on the 22 the British prisoners that was taken up the river trench passed this place under the care of the Cantucky milicia about four hundred in number two companys was ordered out of our Brigade Commanded by Richeson and Smith to gard the British prisoners to Chilecothe at this place I wrote to Samuel Zane But on the morning of the 26 we again took up the line of march and then we was inspected by Major Lewis and then marcht for fort Megs with two days provisions in our nabsacks our rout was down the Sandusky River about four miles and one half and then Crost a large Creek and then took the old indian trale Which was through a low marchy ground but had it not a

Rained so on us the Roads would have been good we marcht fourteen and then encampt for that night early next morning we gain took up the line of march and Crost Carren River it was not more then 20 inches deep we then proceeded on our march this day it rained on us extremely hard and our noble Commander hurried us on in a vey extravigant maner and many of the men Became very sick and unable to march and our encampment on that nights was somewhat Curious as it was about six miles Long it would have been some What difficult for us to have placd out our gards therefore our Commander was oblidged to Dispenche with this part of his Duty this Days march was about 25 miles through the black swamp on the morning of the 28 we formed the line of march for fort megs and Came there early in the morning and about 12 oClock we drew out provisions three days rations and Cooking utetials and six tents for the use of our Company it still Continued to rain on us exceeding hard and expected to stay there that night but about three oClock was ordered to Cross the maume river when we had our bread a baking and our meet a cooking and ablidged to put it in our nabsacks as it was and formd the line of march in order to Cros the river At which time I was taken the day before with the ague and was unable march . I went on board of a boat that was going to Detroit we set of about Dark down the river about fourteen miles and then landed and I was sick and unable to get out of the boat and no one with me to help me out of the boat and it Raind and snowd on us severely next morning the 29 we pusht of our boat and about ten oclock they histed sail for detroit the boat was ladend with Dride beef and about thirty soldiers belonging to the twenty forth Ridgment we saild that day about forty miles and then put to shore at a place caled stoney point and encampt there til next morning the 30 it snoed and the wind blew hard so that we was oblidged to lay by til the morning of the 31 when we again started for Detroit but the wind was against us the was oblidged to roe we got to browns-town and encampt there that night that day we came 20 miles Early next morning it being the first of November we again pusht of and histed sail with a fair wind up the River and came to Detroit about two oClock in the afternoon I stil continued to have

the Ague I enquired for James Nixon and found him in the evening and Lodged with him that night and was very sick next morning our troops marcht into Detroit I now shall undertake to give some account of the marching of our troops from fort Megs to this place we was ordered on the evening of the 28 to Cros the maume [Maumee] river but the Conveyance was so bad that only part of our troops got over that night the rest of our troops was oblidge to seek lodging where they Could find it and it was here that many of the men Complained much of the good policy of our Commander they exClaimed hard things against him on the morning of the 29 all crosst the maume river and then set forwards for Detroit and marcht about five miles down the river which was very Pleasant to the eye about five miles from fort Megs we pasd the old British garrison which was demolisht away only the Ruins was to be seen there our march this day was over level land some wet places which made it very Disagreeable for often they had to wad in the water ancle deep about one oclock they Came to a Large Creek where they had to wade to their hips which was the cause of many being sick and out done and they had no way to help themselves but to assist the sick soldier By carrying their nabsacks and muskets and was ordered to march on and leave the sick behind they would not do it that night they encampt that night on the morning of the 30 we again set forwards on our march and this morning we experiened serious hardships of wet and Cold and we had many small streams of water to wade some to the knees and some Deeper some men were sick which the rest had to carry over on their backs this day was very cold about one oClock they came to the River reason [Raisin] the men suffered very much that stood on the bank while the rest went over for they had all to Cros over in one small Boat when they got over they got into Comfortable houses but they was much Dissatisfied for the boat was to meet them at the River Reason with provisions to last them to Detroit but by the misConduct of of our noble Commander there was nothing but whisky and drid beef and it spoilt so that a number of the men could not make any use of it here they saw the place where General Winchester was defeeted and likewise their bones that lay on the ground at this place

the a few Canadaan french who is almost on the point of starvation

Where they left three men out of our Company and a number of the men out of other Companys and provisions immediately sent to them where they stayd about ten days and then followed us on the morning of the 31 they again set forward this morning was very cold for it snowd and blowd very severe that night this Days march was about 18 miles, and encampt at the river huren [Huron] two companys got over that night and the rest got over in the morning the 1 of Nov and set forwards on their march in about three miles they came to brownstown which is a desalate looking place not inhabited by french nor indians some part of it was burnt here they had a large Creek to Cros at this place and marcht on and encampt that night at the river Rushl this days march was about 14 miles at this place there is a few familys of the french lives in poverty and distress for the indians had plundered all they had the next morning they set forward on their march and Came about four miles and Came to Detroit and encampt on the east side of the fort the men being fateaught and hungry on the account of their being three Days and nights almost without any provisions her e they soon drew two days Rashions and had nothing to Cook our met in was forst broil it on the Coals our bread being very bad the men being very hungry and eat very hearty which supposd to be the Cause of a great deal of sickness in our troops here we stayd until the evening of the third and found an emty house about one mile and half up the river and marcht up to it and our Company staid that night next Day we found annother emty house within a few rods of the other and a part of us moved into it and Continued there til the twenty third of Decem and then moved in our huts which we bilt on the East side of the fort Detroit is a large but unregular bilt town is bilt on the bank of the Detroit and the streets when we Came here was very disagreeable on the account of the mud Detroit at this time is a very unhealthy place and many of the soldiers have Died since We Came to this place likewise many of the french inhabittance of Detroit is daily laid in the ground the greatest part of the inhabittance of the Michegan territory are either french Can-

adians and indians and their Profess the Roman Catholic Religion and many of their sinogogs is to be seen in almost every Part of this town with the signature of the Cross on the Roofs of their houses and many of them have the image of our savour hung up over their bed heads which they adore with great solemnity they attend on Mass every sunday morning and the after part of the day they spend in Drinking shooting playing the fiddle Danceing Cuting and halling wood and hay and all such like practises and it would be impossible for any person for to kow when the Lords day Comes by the inhabeance for you may here them at almost all kinds of employment on this Day as well as on any other day!! the Canadeans and indians and negroes are Completely mixt in Blood akin and alike in their ways actions Conduct and principles Shortly after we Came to this place two of our men Died by the names of Mpherson and Irwin who livd near Morristown Shortly after we came here I got well and was immediate Detaild for to take Care of the sick and Continued to wait on them about twenty Days in which time they got able to Cook for them selves on the—of Novm Maring and Parks hired Substitutes and they got passage in a boat by the wey of Cleaveland and by them I sent two letters to my father and another to my Wife on the 24 our Lieutennant on furlow and another man with him at this time I wrote to Zane I was then Detaild to boat wood from hog island which is about three miles up the river before this time a number of our men had been boating ever since we Came here a boating Logs for our huts and firewood for the use of the Ridgment The troops at this place still Continues to be very much sick and many have Died since we Came to this place about the fifth of Decm I wrote another letter home, about the tenth I vollenteerd to go down to grozeal island which lies oposit maldon to fetch up a boat load of bark to Cover our huts I saw the ruins of maldon a desolate looking place for the British had burnt the fort and all the publick store houses at that place and some of our troops are stationéd at that place and likewise some at sandwitch about this time I Rd a letter from Samuel Zane which gave me great satisfaction to hear from my family and the neibors that they were all well I immediately wrote him an answer that I was

well and in great spirrits and hopd to return home to my family and in a short time I wrote another to my family to inform them that I was well and to let them know that I had no forgot them About this time there was about forty went up the river Detrench and there was taken by a scouting of the British there was about eight or ten of them made their and brought in the news that the rest were taken there was three hundred ordered out immediately in order to Resscue them but when they got there they followed on but they had got so far that it was impossible to overtake them and they returned back to this place some of those were milicia an some were Regulars on the twenty third we moved to our huts on Christmas Day I went up the river about seven or eight miles at which time I saw lake Cin Clere [St. Clair] which is the head of Detroit River there I gave one dollar for one hundred apples and returned to my quarters that day at this place all nessasory norishments Came very high such as milk 25c per quart butter 75c per pound Cheese 37½ c flower \$10 per hundred pork eight dollars per hundred and other things in perporion January 1814 The men are generally geting well and our provition that we get now is much beter then that we got when we first Came to this place We have Servd unkel Sam four moats and have Receivd no pay as yet the fall and winter has been very favourable so far on us for we hant had any snow to speak of this winter none more then two inches Deep on the forth there about two hundred to go up the river Detrench there went out of our Company one Ensign one serjent seven privates on the seventh I Receivd a letter from my family bearing Date of the 14 of Decm which gave me great pleasure and satisfaction to hear from them and their welfare for my anxiety is to be with them though well Contented with my lot and station on the tenth I Receivd a letter from my Brother Peter Yost which stated they were all well and the neibors likewise on sixteenth those men returnd that went up the river Detrench and they had prest one thousand Bushels of wheet and two hundred stand of arms and they prest teams and fecht the wheet and the armes to this place and they all Returnd safe to this place on the seventeenth I sent two letters one to my brother and the other to my family on the thirty first of

Decm our Ridgment was inspected by Major Butler on the twenty first of January our pay Master Came on and immediately went to making out pay Roles and Receit Roles on the twenty seventh orders was ishued Copied and Read that all soldiers should keep Cloce to their quarters and if they were found treating or drinking with the indians they would be severely punisht for the same and likewise if the tavern keepers was ordered not to let them have any spirituous liquors for if they Did they would be severily punisht for the same on the second of february we Drew our mony our pay up to the thirty first of Decm January the twenty fifth there was about thirty light horsmen started up the river Detrench as a scouting party where they took eight prisoners one of which was a british spy these prisoners was immediately sent on to Sandusky on the ninth of february Colonel Croughen [Croghan] Came to this place in five days from Cincinatty the word there that we had an engagement with the British and indians and and only held our ground and was heavily besieged and General Harrison sent on Craughen to take Command at this place because he was a fighting Carracter General Harrison Heard that Colonel Butler was sick was the Cause of Colonel Croughen Coming on to take Command at this place he brought on word that there was a number of troops Coming on to this place on the fourteenth there Came one hundred mounted Rangers for twelve monts that was Raised at Daten [Dayton] on the fifteenth there was a Ridgmentel Cort marshel for the purpose of trying a man in Capt Rosses Company who had stolen money from one of his mes mates on the evening of the sixteenth at Retreat Beating he was fecht from the guard house and his sentence was Read he was to be padelel which was immedeatily done five strokes and then put in the guard house til next morning til troop beating to reciev the balance of his punishment which was to Ride the wooden horse for fifteen minuets and to have a peace pasted on the front of his hat with the letters thief on it and then be Drumbd up and dow the lines in front of the Ridgment the Roges march beat after him and one months pay to go to the man whom he stole the mony from and then guarded to his quarters he was by the name of Phelps and likewise an alarm that the Enemy was Cloce at hand

A number of the officers and men was much alarmed and believed the Report was true and a General feint was ordered out for the purpose of making breast works Round the fort wall by digging a trench all Round the Fort Just outside of the Ditch and those trenches were filled with white thorn Brush with all the tops and small brush trimmed of the limbs sloped and set in the ground about two feet and well filled in about the butts and Round the tops about five feet above the ground sloping out sprangling Every Corps Setting Closer together so that it is impossible for a man to get through or over in any short time two rows Rows of pickets Round the wall the outside row of them is about nine feet high standing upright in the Ditch the other is planted about half way up the outside of the fort wall they are slanting out they are about six feet in length the fort wall is about twelve feet high and about the same across the top of the wall and a handsome Sward of blue grass all over the walls and a large Commons Round the fort well set with same on the Evening of the seventeenth the Militia was ordered to march into the fort that they might be acquainted with the west side of the fort which we was to Defend if we were attacked and likewise March in at four o'clock in the morning and Stand under arms till Roll Call on the Eighteenth the Cannon Eighty odd times the nineteenth Do on this day Col Croughen issued orders that every man should lay with his close on and his Cateridge box on and his gun in his arms and if two guns was fired in succession it was an alarm and every man was to be on parade and form in the main street Right against the public store house and how to form in different ways and on Different ground in Case of an attack at fore o'clock in the morning the alarm guns was fired and we paraded according to orders and Stood there under arms for some time Col Croughen Riding in front of the line the Colonel ordered the officers to march their men of the ground and dismiss the men and let them go to their quarters but not to lay Down and be in Readiness in Case of an attack after twelve o'clock they Continued firing the Cannon fifty odd times Colonel Croughens orders are still in force on the twenty first they still Continued firing the Cannon for six days principally with Blank Caterages Some with Balls to shoot at the mark on the twenty

second they put up two Barrels one on the top of the other with a white shirt on the top one the second shoot the ball went through the barrel they fired the Cannon four times the other three nearly totching the barrel the Distance is one mild and one half

NOTE—Here a piece is torn off, probably containing about sixty-five words.

one of his arms they still Continue to fortify fort Shelby on the first of March there was a General Review of all troops that was stationed at Detroit on the second we was Mustered and inspected on the morning of the third there their was great preparation made for Marching we gave up our guns

NOTE—Here the final words and signature (probably) are torn off. The missing piece might, if filled, have contained about sixty-five words.

NOTE—After one blank page—upon which is an affidavit by Joel Yost, made on Apr. 21st, 1855, that the foregoing is in the handwriting of his father, Robert Yost—there occurs a map of Fort Shelvy—with title thereon in the same handwriting afore-said—of which there is tracing attached hereto.

On the back of the document there are the remains of the words, "Robert Yost his book". Also on the back and also on the map page occur the figures, 107,271, in an ink apparently different and a different handwriting from the document.

REV. PAUL HENKEL'S JOURNAL.¹

HIS MISSIONARY JOURNEY TO THE STATE OF OHIO IN 1806.

Translated from the German by Rev. F. E. Cooper, of Milwaukee, Wis., and
edited by Clement L. Martzoff, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.

NEW MARKET,

SHENANDOAH COUNTY, VIRGINIA.²

Monday, July 7th.

To-day, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I started on my first journey as travelling preacher. As the affairs of my household were in such shape that my wife could leave home for a time, and as we had some reason to believe that her bodily health

¹ Paul Henkel was commissioned to undertake this missionary journey by the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which had examined, licensed and finally ordained him in 1792. At this time (1806) he was located at New Market, Va., and undertook this missionary journey from that point. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania paid him \$40.00 a month for the actual time that he was engaged on this journey and on the similar journey which he made to North Carolina three weeks after his return to New Market, from the journey to Ohio.

Mention might be made of the fact that General Peter Mühlenberg, according to a tradition in the Henkel family, personally presented to Paul Henkel the clerical gown which Mühlenberg had worn in the pulpit at Woodstock in 1775, when, after preaching his sermon, he threw off his gown and revealed his colonel's uniform. This gown is now preserved in the Krauth Memorial Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia.

The Journal was sent in by Henkel to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania as a part of his official report and has remained in the custody of the Ministerium ever since, together with a great deal of similar material. It is now in the care of Dr. Luther F. Reed, Archivarius of the Ministerium, the Archives also being kept in the Library of the Seminary.

The English translation of the Journal is the work of the Rev. F. E. Cooper, formerly of Lima, Ohio, and now of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It is through the courtesy of Dr. Reed that I am permitted to present this substantial contribution to the early religious history of Ohio.

My personal thanks are due Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield, Ohio; Geo. F. Bareis, Canal Winchester, Ohio; Rev. A. Beck, Thornville, Ohio; Rev. J. H. Schneider, Columbus, Ohio; Theo. D. Jervy, Charleston, S. C.; Hon. D. W. Williams, Jackson, Ohio, and Mrs. Lydia S. Poffenberger, Point Pleasant, W. Va., for valuable assistance in furnishing me with important data.

CLEMENT L. MARTZOFF,

Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.

March 4, 1914.

would be benefited thereby, matters were so arranged that she went along. We secured, in addition, the company of an excellent man, George Ruddall by name, who is travelling from here to Kentucky, where he resides. He travels 250 miles of our way. As he has two horses, he is a great help to us, in that he carries fodder for the horses, and we carry provisions for ourselves in our chaise. The day is very warm; we travelled only 14 miles; found good entertainment at the house of friend I. Kratzer, in Rockingham County.

Tuesday, the 8th.

We took up our journey early; the day is very warm. After we had gone 6 miles, we took breakfast with an acquaintance in Harrisonburg.³ We continued our journey. We were well entertained by an old friend, Michael Scheurer, whom we met on the street just at the right time, and who took us from there to his house, which is near at hand; we did not know where we could find entertainment, nor did we know that this friend was living here. This friend served me for 12 years as overseer, as an honest man; we were very welcome.

The man rejoiced when he heard what our plans were. During the whole day my wife was unwell, but felt better after supper and was well entertained in conversation by the man and his wife, which pleased us well, so I began to write up my diary. After evening prayer, we retired, rested well; travelled 26 miles to-day.

Wednesday, the 9th.

We started on our way, just as soon as we could get ready; whatever we needed in the way of fodder, the man provided us with. To-day we again found to be very warm. The way, also, is becoming rough, in that the mountains already begin.⁴ We came out of Augusta⁵ County to-day, and were entertained in Bath⁶ County by an innkeeper who called to mind that he had not heard English preaching for 12 years. We again travelled only 30 miles. As it was still daylight when we arrived, my wife prepared supper herself, which was very satisfactory to our hostess, as she could not have gotten ready very well, because she was very much indisposed. The host engaged with me

in conversation, which was very agreeable to me, and at bedtime he called together the household, and I conducted the usual evening service.

Thursday, the 10th.

We started on our way as early as possible. It began to rain, and continued until about 2 o'clock. We travelled over the so-called Warm Spring Mountain. Here I had to go about 2 miles on foot, and could not avoid getting wet. At about 2 o'clock, we arrived at the Warm Spring (Bad^r). Here we gave our horses fodder, and went into the watering place, and it was greatly to our advantage that we found David Rothenhefer, hatter, living here, whose wife we had known in Staunton as a girl. They were rejoiced, and the wife prepared coffee. Preached here in the year 1794, to a good assembly; but at this time there was no longer an opportunity found to preach the Gospel. We left at 4 o'clock, and found the way rough; reached the Jackson River⁸ at twilight; here we took up our quarters; travelled 30 miles again to-day. Here we found stabling and fodder for our horses, also a bed, but no opportunity to give any one instruction. As far as I could learn, the people had been drawn into the Presbyterian church, but of this no one in the house pretends to know anything. The innkeeper departed this life some years ago. The old widow, her son and his wife, live as if they were to live here forever. We retired in good time, but we rested little—the working of the Warm Spring disturbed us through the whole night; nevertheless, day came at last.

Friday, the 11th.

At 5 o'clock we were already on our way. As soon as we had started, we began to ascend a high mountain.⁹ I had to go on foot. My wife feels so weak that she can hardly sit, and I suffer too. Our way lies on the eastern side, and the sun breaks forth hot. The way is so uneven that I must lead the horse, which is also one of the difficulties—but the journey has been made so far, and we will go still farther—hitherto hath the Lord brought us, He will also bring us farther.

We met a man with whom I became acquainted as an English schoolmaster in the year 1782. This man, at that time al-

ready an ardent friend of the Christian religion, also travelled with me for several days through Greenbrier¹⁰ County; in return for breakfast, we received from him some corn for the horses, but actually, we could have had nothing more; as rich as he had appeared 11 years ago, just so poor and ragged he appeared now. His former wife was no longer to be seen—a young wife with several children. My wife lies down on the bed, and I am about to make the coffee, but the woman wishes to save me the trouble, as she wants to do it herself. I give her as much as I think necessary, but she made me believe that it is not sufficient to make it good. I give her more—but she has other use for it. She carries it into the kitchen, and is careful that it is not made too strong. We did not get the fourth part of it. Thus it happened to us this time; in the future I shall know this hostess. After I had made full inquiry, it appeared that he had become a wicked man, the former wife had to leave him after he had taken up with another, but he is now on the first way to receive the reward of his foolishness. We do not tarry long here, it may cost us more than the coffee. We continue our journey. The day becomes warmer and warmer. To-day we travel through the mountainous region, drive 12 miles without seeing a house; come upon an old Presbyterian, where we feed our horses. It is just at the time of harvest among the people here. The householder and other of his neighbors, who perhaps were somewhat drunken, wish to know my calling; soon finding this out, they proved desirous of discussing certain dogmas with me, out of mere curiosity. I therefore pointed out their duty to them, as old householders, carefully to observe the same according to the precept of the Bible, and not to trouble themselves about such matters, concerning which they know nothing—and thereupon, again on the way. We arrive at Lewisburg,¹¹ three miles on the other side of the Greenbrier river, at about twilight, having covered 37 miles to-day; find good entertainment with George Spats, trustee of the congregation. Here, and at various other points of this country I preached in August, 1794, and until the end of the year 1795, I gave instruction, confirmed the young people, and administered the Lord's Supper in the courthouse. For 7 or 8 years the congregation has been

served by Pastor Flohr,¹² who visits them 6 or 8 times a year. We are welcome visitors to these people, but the time at our disposition is short.

Saturday, the 12th.

We are visited by various persons from this place, who had previously made themselves acquainted with me. I have reason, also, to think that my work in this region was not altogether in vain. There was at least a foundation laid, upon which others have since built. We drive into the country to secure pasture for our horses; our travelling companion is seeking another acquaintance. This is a very warm day; nevertheless, at 2 o'clock a heavy rain fell.

We are being very well entertained. The host, his wife and he thought his children, had heard me preach sometime in the past, in Rockingham County, but they were also acquainted with my wife, which is a source of mutual pleasure to them. I write a letter home.

Sunday, the 13th.

To-day, a beautiful day. We find a large congregation. The Presbyterians permit us to preach in their church. The English also desire to hear a sermon, but they must wait until the Germans have been preached to. My sermon was on 2 Timothy, 4:8. The congregation showed itself very attentive. Several appeared as if they had gotten something of it. I must believe that neither did Mr. Flohr labor here in vain. After dinner I delivered an English sermon and only because the Germans had promised it to them.¹³ I found opportunity to speak something about the right meaning of reformation and conversion, which, to be sure, was something strange to the people, although the doctrine in itself may not have been so strange; yet the manner in which this is to be secured, this was certainly strange, and also attracted some attention; yet as many may have thought that I did not understand the matter any better (as is to be feared) few were converted thereby. After the sermon was ended I baptized various children. We go home with Abraham Roder, whose parents regard themselves as the first seal of my calling. These are living on the Ohio,

whom we shall see too, and learn in how far they are living in accord with their confession. The young man and his wife show themselves very ready to serve. I find something particularly praiseworthy in him; although both his parents are German, and so brought up, the foolishness of others led them to bring up their children in the English language; but this one, although he has an English wife, was so anxious to learn his mother language that he can speak it very well. We lodged with him.

Monday, the 14th.

Yesterday the people who are acquainted with the road from here to Point Pleasant, assured us that we would not be able to continue with our chaise, therefore we resolved to travel on horseback. Friend Roder and Martin Scheurer, who is trustee of the congregation in this place, ride along to one of my old acquaintances, Michael Hofman, who lends us a horse; we visit my old friend Hazenbiller, whose wife has for a long time been laid up with the gout. I served her as well as I could with my ministrations. She lends her saddle to my wife. Friend Hazenbiller attends to the shoeing of the horses. We return home with Friend Roder, and again spend the night there.

Tuesday, the 15th.

This morning early it begins to rain heavily. Friend Martin Scheurer desires to witness our departure, brings us a large sack full of corn. Friend Roder lends me his saddle; his wife provided us with fresh bread, meat and a large cheese and now we were ready for the journey which we were to make on horseback. We did not start until 11 o'clock, when it stopped raining, and then it became clear. At about sunset we arrived at the home of Peter Beyer, who formerly lived in Lewisburg, and whose wife with others, received instruction and was confirmed in the year 1795. He receives us in a very friendly manner. He requested me to preach there on our return, which I promised to do. His wife, although she has had little opportunity to obtain proper instruction, and cannot read, seems to us nevertheless, to have retained something of what she has

heard. I would gladly have ministered to this large household, but all were so busily engaged with the travellers who arrived the same evening that it had to be dispensed with. We travelled 24 miles.

Wednesday, the 16th.

This morning we start early, but it is again very warm. We ascend the so-called Sullivan Mountain, certainly a very high mountain. After going about 6 miles, we find a house at the top. We stop here; my wife makes breakfast. The host, a German, who troubles himself about nothing less than about the Christian religion, whose wife however, informed us that she had been raised in our Shenandoah County, and was a regular member of our German church. She also speaks German well. She laments with tears that she is cut off from all opportunity to attend any regular service. She adds to this that she has 3 children, who were still unbaptized, and has no hope that it will be done, since their father is altogether unwilling to permit such a thing. She showed us as much kindness as was in her power. I admonished her as well as I could. After breakfast we continue our journey. It is a hard day for us. It becomes exceedingly warm, and at the New River we meet with very high mountains. We had set out to go as far as the beginning of the great Kanaway, which is said to be 36 miles, but we fell 9 miles short of it. We had to take up our quarters in a miserable hut alongside of the path. Here there is neither field nor stall. We build a little palisade of rails and to it we tie the horses. They receive some corn, and with that they must be satisfied. But as it is still sometime before sunset my wife is able to prepare a good supper for us, wherewith we fully refresh ourselves, and raise our spirits. At about twilight, another traveller comes along, with whom I was acquainted. The man of the house asks me to conduct the usual evening service, in addition to which everything fully indicates that the man is of Presbyterian stock, and therefore so trained. I secured a bed, on which we lay, and poor and narrow as it was, and little room as we had, nevertheless we had more than a hundred bed-fellows, who found room enough alongside of us. These were not as sleepy as we

were, but so much the more hungry. They took care that we did not sleep too soundly, and that we could rise early. The others of our party had lain themselves on the floor—and neither did they suffer for lack of the companionship of the same people. Yesterday we travelled only 27 miles. This morning we started early, so we may make better progress.

Thursday, the 17th.

We all rise early. I complain to the host concerning his domestics, and in a cool manner, with a cold heart, he laments that they are so rude, but with warm¹⁴ accepts a shilling for the bed, while we continue our journey. Now we have left "Fleaburg," but we must find our way and the road is still very dark. We continue our journey until after sunrise—then we allow our horses to pasture by the wayside for half an hour, and then we find that we have another high mountain to ascend. I am inclined to think that if one were to climb the mountain every morning before breakfast it would surely preserve him from the podagra.¹⁵ We again ascend the eastern slope, which begins another very warm day for us. Our condition is like that of Jonathan and his armor-bearers, who climbed up on hands and feet. When we have made an ascent—then there comes a descent. After we had struggled along in this way for a mile we reached the top. After we had rested for awhile we looked for the road down the mountain. Luckily we missed it—we found the steepest place—as slowly as we had ascended the mountain, just so rapidly could we have descended—we would only have had to slide. I forthwith made a start and would have reached the level long before my horse, had I let the bridle go out of my hand. When I had disclosed the character of the track, neither my wife nor Mr. Ruddall were willing to follow me, but took a round about way. After we had ridden about 3 miles farther we arrived at the first hut below, at the falls of the above mentioned New River. From here to its mouth, which is a distance of 90 miles, it is known as the Kana-way. Here we find a large fire under a great shade tree alongside of the hut; also a trough; here we feed our horses, and my wife again made us some good coffee. We also get some but-

ter, and in addition to our bread we have some meat, so that we get along very well. The old housewife inquired about my calling, whereupon she complained that she could not have the advantage of a congregation. Her nearest neighbor is 4 miles off. She says she was also raised as a regular member of the Christian church. She asked me to preach there on my way home. She said the most of the inhabitants along the stream were members of the English Baptist church, but they had no preacher. We rode on and came upon a man with whom I had been well acquainted in my youth; he also is of German descent, but was raised altogether in the English language. To-day we travelled 30 miles. It was a warm day. We are glad to find quarters. I had not seen this man since the year 1774. I pitied the poor fellow—he received very little instruction in his youth, has a very ill-bred wife and children, several of whom are now grown up,—he is master nowhere except in the field and forest. Some years ago both he and his wife were members of the Baptist church. He seemed very much pleased when I told him who I was. He has no lack of the necessities of life; but, oh misery! what a female for kitchen or chamber. The previous night we quartered in “Fleaburg”—tonight we find bugs here. It is a very warm night; the house is small. My wife, who is somewhat tired and did not have her usual supper, retired early, and fell asleep. After I had had some conversation with the man, I also retired but was soon awakened by the brown creatures.

The man had sent his sons out fishing, and they came into the house again about midnight with a torch burning brightly, by which she was awakened. I had lain down on the floor near the bed, and, covered with my overcoat, I used my saddle as a pillow. When my wife awoke, she perceived what had driven me out of bed, and was likewise forced to get up and lie down with me; there we passed the night.

Friday, the 18th.

This morning we are out early again, and are about to start on our journey; but as the man of the house seems very much displeased that we desire to leave in this way, we remain until

after breakfast. It seemed to me this man desired to become better acquainted with me. I had him assemble his family, read a psalm; we sang a hymn and prayed, but oh, how out of place it all seemed in these surroundings, so wild and shy. Nevertheless these exercises made such an impression, upon the children in particular, that they were moved thereby. Then my wife went along into the kitchen and made us a good coffee. The sons caught some fish, which were then prepared, and then we all became more cheerful. The man and the children entreated us to stop again on our way home; also to preach there, which I would have done, but circumstances prevented. We continue our journey, and after we had ridden 16 miles we arrived at the home of widow Rufener, whom I had known well in former times, when her husband was still living. She is a member of the Mennonite congregation. Her youngest son, a married man, is living with her. As his wife is a member of our church, and has a great inclination for divine truth, we were persuaded to stay here until Sunday, and to preach in the courthouse, one and one-half miles from here. We are well quartered.

Saturday, the 19th.

To-day we rest ourselves. I write up my diary. It is a beautiful day. We are visited by the sons of the widow, who live near by.

Sunday, the 20th.

At the time appointed for the service, I, with others, appeared at the courthouse. Here there were assembled as many as I had expected. I preached with much disinclination as I soon saw how most of them were disposed. Nevertheless, by an effort of my mind, I was at last able to propound something on the words of our Saviour, John 14:6. When I saw how much high-mindedness there was among the people, I permitted myself to make several digressions, in order to make them attentive. In doing this I soon got into difficulty with one of the audience, a rather old man, somewhat intoxicated, sitting in the doorway. I was remarking that they as listeners need not expect to be entertained by a discourse in which the teaching

of one or the other of the religious parties would be maintained or opposed, as is the custom of some preachers, and the delight of many people, of which class in my opinion they formed a part. My grey-haired hearer interrupted me; he spoke out aloud: "You do me an injustice, I did not come for this purpose, I am not a man of that sort." I told him to cause no disturbance. I did not refer to him above the others; if he were not the man, he should leave it to others. He said: "You did mean me, at the time you looked directly at me." This disturbed the whole congregation. But the man continued to murmur until one of the congregation led him away, and quieted him with soft words. He came in again, sat down in his seat, and was quiet and attentive until the sermon was ended. Then he came to me, and endeavored partly to excuse and partly to justify himself, as the drunken will do. If my sermon was blessed in proportion to my belief, then the blessing was indeed small. I conversed with a man who belongs to the Methodist communion, who spoke very sensibly with me, and told me that most of the audience were corrupted Baptists.

Monday, the 21st.

We again take up our way, and ride down along the Kana-way River. We have no mountains or hills to climb, but very deep water trenches, which are dangerous as well as difficult to pass through. To-day we travelled 30 miles. We could have gone a little farther, but we had to stop because of our quarters. We find Daniel Gomer, who, with his wife is a member of our church, and formerly belonged to one of my congregations. Ten years ago this couple settled here in the wilderness, and by hard labor have acquired so much property that they are beyond want. They are delighted at our arrival and remind me that they were married by me; they also tell their oldest children that I am the preacher who baptized them, who also seemed pleased with this; but it is a pity that their children are not brought up in their mother tongue. The same evening the boys caught several fish with which to serve us. For the sake of the children, I was obliged to conduct the evening prayer in the English language. I lament that such people must live in this way!

The wife showed us the hand of one of her sons, which through the bite of a snake had been made almost useless. She said that five of her children had been bitten by snakes, and twice it had fallen to her lot. Although there are few inhabitants about here, nevertheless they frequently make provision for an English school.

Tuesday, the 22nd.

Yesterday was a beautiful day, but this morning it is raining hard. We are unable to start as early as we would like, nevertheless we reach Point Pleasant at the mouth of the great Kanaway, and find our old friend Johannes Rausch and his wife, both in good health, and highly delighted to see us with them. This good man became one of the best friends we ever had. To-day we again travelled 32 miles.

Wednesday, the 23rd.

To-day we visit various acquaintances in the place. Friend Rausch consults with the same concerning a German sermon, which (as the first) is to be held there. There are indeed as yet very few Germans in the whole neighborhood. Everything was soon arranged. In the afternoon he rode with us to his brother Jacob's, who lives 9 miles above, on the other side of the Ohio in Galia¹⁶ County, in the State of Ohio. Now we are here with another friend and lover of the Word. There are several former members of my congregation here. The young people who expected me to preach here and begin instructions with them on the first Sunday of last May, heard (some of them) of our arrival, and came together the same evening with their hymn books and catechisms. Then instruction was begun, and with it, the first exercise of my office in the State of Ohio. To-morrow further appointments will be made.

Thursday, the 24th.

It is very warm to-day again. In the morning I write in my diary and in the afternoon we visit Philip Rausch,¹⁷ who consults with me concerning the continuation of the instruction of the young. This man served me as a prudent trustee in the

year 1783. This evening all of the household who were about assembled, and I detained them for half an hour with an exhortation, and gave the young people further advice. Nevertheless I do not feel well.

Friday, the 25th.

I preached in the house of Jacob Rausch. He had made a special effort to announce the fact to all his English neighbors that there would be preaching in the English language, and for the reason that they were Baptists, requested it of him on the pretext that they would either induce me to present my system of religion according to their conviction or they would convince me of my error—but neither of these happened, for few of them attended, and these came, made no comments, and I knew nothing of the matter until afterwards, which left everything in peace. I preached according to the best of my ability on Ps. 119:18, baptized several children for Germans and English, and gave instructions in German in the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel, as well as I could. Towards evening we visited Peter Beck at his request. This evening will be well occupied. His wife, two sons and a daughter will accompany him to instructions. The case of this woman is somewhat remarkable. Her parents were Reformed people, who clung closely to their church, and although all her brothers and sisters became members of the church, from youth up she refused to be confirmed in that communion, and before her marriage already, she would have been confirmed in the Lutheran church.

After her marriage, she gave fuller expression to her desire, but which only now has come to pass.

Saturday, the 26th.

To-day I continue the instruction of the young. The number is still small and most of them are still very ignorant and timid; several also are kept away because of sickness.

Sunday, the 27th.

This day I shall remember. It is very warm. At 11 o'clock the house is filled with Germans. The sermon came first, on Matt. 21:3. Here are many of my former members, whom I

always treasure as those who know their Saviour. These are greatly rejoiced at my visit—both for the sake of their children in that I am able to be of service to them, and because of their own edification. After the German sermon was ended, I was obliged likewise to deliver one in English, yet certain ones attend, and to them I must preach, to keep them in peace with the Germans. Here \$0.12.0 was handed to me for the treasury. As I must preach to-morrow in another small German neighborhood 15 miles down the Ohio River, and must give instruction for several days in addition, because most of the young people are to be found there, we with others get into a canoe soon after the conclusion of the service, and take to the river. There were other canoes in company with us which had come to the service. There were two experienced young men to navigate us. After we had gone about 10 miles, I wished to help the young men, but as this occupation was a strange one to me, and the boat was very narrow, it came to pass that I fell out; but the water was only deep enough to come up to my arms. But I had learned how to swim very well in my youth, and my hands were now stretched out for this purpose, so that I did not even lose my hat. I had taken off my shoes. I found a marshy bottom, mingled with twigs, in which my feet became entangled, and my stockings were very much torn by the time I reached land. The boat with its load went some distance before it could be gotten into control, but was quite at the shore by the time I got out. I feared another attack of fever, especially as it would be night before we could reach our destination. I wrapped my overcoat about me, and suffered no harm. We found our old friend Daniel Rausch, who had always shown himself a true friend of divine truth, and also his wife, so that we were well provided with all that was necessary. We rested very well.

Monday, the 28th.

The appointed time for the young people was early, but they were there still earlier. At 8 o'clock I began the instruction in a barn, but by 10 o'clock the room was too small. All the Germans in the neighborhood are assembled, and many Eng-

lish mingle with them. They all declare that they were informed that I would preach in English also. Oh perverse people! If you are invited you will not come, and now we are overrun with you. Nevertheless I must preach to you, too, so as to get room to continue my instruction of the young. I am, in addition to this, under obligations thereto as a missionary, by order of the Synod. To be sure, I went at it with much unwillingness. But as I saw among others an old man, blinded in both eyes by the smallpox, who seemed so friendly at the beginning of the service, that it attracted my attention and aroused me to more pleasure in the exercise of my office, and gained for me better self-command, so that I was able to make my sermon more to the point. But scarcely was this the case when everything was interrupted by a terrible wind and rain storm. We lost almost 2 hours. After I had spoken a full half hour, and it was now late, I thought everyone would let it pass at that for to-day, but the English declared that they knew that I had prepared more for them, and this they wished to hear, so I had to go at it again, and fulfil their request. I concluded then when it was almost dark, with the promise that I could preach to them again before I would leave this neighborhood. The poor blind man cried out in a loud voice, "Good, good, very good, for this let us be thankful." With this the day ended. But we went a mile farther, and visited another old acquaintance who formerly paid very little attention to divine service, but whose wife, although born and raised in the English language, speaks German well. She was much benefited by our visit. After supper, we again returned to our quarters and rested well.

Tuesday, the 29th.

We started early to visit another German family, who would like to be English, if they only had the necessary gifts and ability. The man and his wife were in youth confirmed in the German Reformed church, and already in the year 1783 appeared as if they had changed their opinions, and were very hopeful. But as the wife was ever filled with the love of pride, the same drew her to the English. As they considered themselves the first seal of my office I had to visit them, and leave

them as they are. But by 9 o'clock we were again at our barn, and the instruction continued throughout the day until night, when we visited another family, 2 miles down the Ohio from where we were staying.

Wednesday, the 30th.

Early in the morning our young men came with the boat, and as we were quartered on the bank of the river, we could enter immediately. We go down stream with almost my whole school. As we are riding with the stream we go far in a short time. We again arrive at Jacob Rausch's and the instruction is continued. I have now 22 in my class, 2 married men, and 4 women. It is again a very warm day. The day is another hard one for me. I am very much indisposed; nevertheless the circumstances of my pupils demand that I shall devote every moment to their instruction.

Thursday, the 31st.

Last evening I examined carefully into the condition of these young people. I find that according to appearance, most of them are eager to learn, but very much neglected by their parents, notwithstanding that they themselves have gotten so much comfort out of the simple instruction. Can I permit such light-mindedness to go unpunished? The married women cannot read well. They are ashamed to bring in their requests. One in particular expressed herself in such a manner, that I had to regard her as properly concerned about the salvation of her soul. The matter was so plain to my wife that she was moved to take charge of the women and maidens, led them to the other room, instructed them from the catechism, spoke simply, and out of her own experience in connection with the explanations. Thus the burden upon me was made somewhat lighter. I had to follow the same plan with the boys. It did them much good. I continued the instruction until sunset.

Friday, August 1st.

This is another very warm day. The Carolina fever¹⁸ is beginning to make itself strongly felt in me, and I hold out until sunset with great difficulty. Then we cross the Ohio to visit

a friend. He lives on the river, and by the time we are across I feel somewhat better. We spend the night here.

Saturday, the 2nd.

Instruction to-day again. With pleasure I see that the young people begin to comprehend the instruction better. At 2 o'clock we are obliged to stop for to-day. To-morrow I am to preach at Point Pleasant, 9 miles from here. We have company who will go with us down the river. Riding with the stream goes well. But we are overtaken by a heavy rain, accompanied by a strong wind, so that we get wet, which is not very good for me. Here with our old friend John Rausch, we find others to spend the night with us who arranged for our journey to Chillicothe, and the great Miami. Friend John Rausch expressed his willingness to be our travelling companion.

Sunday, the 3rd.

This is a hard day for me. It becomes very warm. The people come together from afar. A large dwelling must serve as our church. All the rooms are filled, and many stand outside. I am also to preach English here. I take my place at the door, in order to take advantage of the air. I first preached to the Germans on Isaiah 45:22. As this is the first German sermon at this place, it received much attention, and aroused much curiosity, particularly on the part of the young people. The Germans were very quiet and well-behaved, but it was very difficult for the English to remain in order. The sermon had considerable effect upon many of the Germans. I was astonished that the young were so moved. As soon as the German sermon was finished, I turned to the English. But here I had first to perform the duties of a church officer, by putting the Germans in a row in order to make room for the others. Many would rather stand outside than get into line. With their bad habits and wild nature, those in the house are unable to sit still, and much less those outside. After much talking, I finally succeeded in making a beginning, but I had to permit myself to engage in digressions and droll speeches in order to make them attentive. I succeeded in so far that all became quiet and attentive. The most light-minded were drawn from the street to

the house. Many appeared as if they were listening earnestly. Some seemed to lay it to heart and to be affected by it. My discourse was on Prov. 1:23. The sermon lasted a full hour and a half. It is true, the sermon was not approved by all, nor was it openly condemned by anyone. It seemed as if many were unaccustomed to hear the plan of salvation explained in this way. A friend informed me, that different ones had been listeners who had threatened to attack me when opportunity should offer, because of infant baptism. But everything was quiet after the sermon was ended, and I came away in peace. After the sermon I baptized a child. Here I received £0.13.6. Many of the Germans had had their children baptized the previous year by Mr. Forster¹⁹ when he preached at Mr. Rausch's. Here my work for the day ended. God be praised, I find that I am not so very tired, even though I preached two long sermons, and helped to row the 9 miles against stream, in order to bring us here. May He add His blessing to the work. I did according to the best of my knowledge and understanding.

Monday, the 4th.

To-day we go on horseback to the home of our Daniel Rausch, in order to give instruction in his barn again—a distance of 10 miles across country. It is about noon when we arrive. I spend the afternoon writing. This evening, by request, I must deliver another sermon, as a small crowd has again assembled. This night I have to suffer somewhat because of my getting wet—from an attack of colic. But by means of what I used at the advice of the hostess, I got so much relief that about midnight I fell asleep.

Tuesday, the 5th.

I arise very tired, but without pain. I am up early; and this was necessary, for my school children show that it is of importance for them to receive as much instruction as possible. Instruction continues until noon, when the barn again becomes filled with Germans to hear a sermon. Although it had not been so appointed, they knew how to make the appointment themselves. After dinner I delivered another short sermon, baptized a German and 4 children. This man, Adam Richert by

name, was formerly my neighbor in New Market. He gave me a dollar. Then I continued the instruction until about half-past five. Then we rode with Henry Rausch to the house of a former good neighbor, 4 miles up the Ohio, at his request, for the purpose and in the hope of so far instructing his son's wife (who is English), that she would permit herself to be baptized with her children. But all without the desired result.

Wednesday, the 6th.

This morning early we take to the river, and as quickly as possible arrive at the barn again. The instruction continues until evening. The day was again very warm, and it would have been most difficult for me to perform my duties if I had not perceived that my flock was so eager to grasp the saving doctrine. This aided me much, and helped me through. But why should I trouble myself?

Michael Sechrist, who married the widow of my deceased brother Benjamin, now also desires to become acquainted with us; we must go home with him. His wife, while a single woman, was led to the Lord by my first sermon, and God be praised, I find her still so disposed. Her present husband is very kind to us. On this short night's journey, I baptized 5 children for a poor and very ignorant man. Under the circumstances I had doubt as to what to do. Both father and mother were extremely ignorant. But I thought this: "I can't bestow wisdom upon either one or the other. The oldest of the children are in a way already fit for instruction, and expose their desire to be baptized. I will give them the very simplest instruction." The sight of the poor children, as they stood there side by side, in coarse but clean clothing, showing themselves so devout and attentive, moved us all, exceedingly. They all knelt down, and I baptized them. We returned home with friend Sechrist.

Thursday, the 7th.

Our host brought us in his canoe, early to our barn-church. I gave instruction until noon. Today I must fulfil my promise to the English. They let me know that they were not satisfied with the previous sermon which I delivered to them here. They had informed all the neighbors and consequently the assembly

was large. The poor blind man, already mentioned, was again led to a place from where he could hear, and seemed very much delighted. Our Germans were very much pleased that their English neighbors conducted themselves in such an attentive and grateful manner, for they gathered among themselves £1.1.0. Here I found better order among the English than I had ever before experienced. Every one said "It was a blessed sermon." The blind man said, "It was good; God be praised, very good; thanks be to God."

This afternoon we break up here, and again go back across the country to his house with Peter Beck, who lives near Jacob Rausch, where instruction is to be given. The young people come by water for this purpose.

Friday, the 8th.

It is again a very warm day. I give instruction all day long. I am disturbed at various times by visits from the English, who wish to have their children baptized. I would not have believed that there were so many English who approve of infant baptism, as I have already met here. I am very tired. In the evening I am to go two miles to baptize children. I was already on the way with others but I must give up the journey because of weakness. I put it off until tomorrow. I make arrangements this evening yet, for the duties of the morrow.

Saturday, the 9th.

Early in the morning my host goes with me to where the children are to be baptized. There I baptized 5 children for I. Watkins, and 2 for his neighbor. At this place £0.5.0 was handed in to me. After breakfast we go to the house where confirmation is to be held. In the first place, two men were elected as trustees of the congregation, namely; Daniel Rausch and George Schwitzer, and installed at the request of the congregation. After this, I delivered an address, and confirmed those whom I had instructed. Everything was done in such a manner that it proved a truly festival occasion, everything was conducted in good and proper order. I was astonished at certain English men, who, although they rarely understood a word of

what I said, were silent observers of the exercises of the whole day, and showed much devotion.

We went home with the newly installed trustee and the heads of different households favored us this evening with their society until bed time. We were very much edified by this intercourse with them, who by the guidance of God, because of our previous acquaintance, took the liberty to speak the more frankly.

Sunday, the 10th.

I arise early. Last night I was very restless and had frightful dreams. But by the time I am fully dressed, Daniel Rausch, the other trustee is with me, with the news that I must go with him this morning before service to a house and baptize 4 children of a neighboring English family. Although I do not do it willingly, yet I dare not refuse. Mr. Rausch himself, urges the matter, since he has known the man for 9 years as one who governs his house well and seeks to bring up his children in accordance with his duty. Therefore, says he, it must be done. Well then, so be it!

I went along, and performed the rite before the sermon. I receive one dollar from this man. At 10 o'clock we find a large assembly gathered for the exercises of today. Alas, had I only been duly prepared for it in soul and body. I am without any self-command. I am uneasy. To me the sermon seemed weary, to the hearers it seemed light. My German sermon was based on Isaiah 12: 3. Many as are here assembled, they are all quiet. I administered the Lord's Supper to 50 communicants. In the afternoon I preached the English sermon, with which they declared themselves well satisfied, because much concerning the Holy Communion had been explained to them. But they were not convinced thereby that they stood in need of the same. After the sermon was ended, I baptized three more children. Today I received £. 10. 8. 6. And now so much is done in this neighborhood. Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.

We put up at the next house. The Germans besought me urgently to provide for future visitation. Tomorrow we continue our journey.

Monday, the 11th.

We rode to Point Pleasant. Upon our arrival we find a letter in the post office from our children, which tells us that all is well at home. God be praised! so we had hoped. Now tomorrow we take up our journey to Chillicothe and that neighborhood in order to hunt up more Germans.

Tuesday, the 12th.

Today at 10 o'clock we leave Point Pleasant. Friend Rausch has provided fresh horses for us, and he himself will be our travelling companion. We were detained by a heavy rain in Galliapolis,²⁰ a little city belonging to the French. With these, however, I cannot speak, much less preach to them. This place is situated 4 miles from Point Pleasant. Today we travelled 26 miles²¹. We are obliged to take up our quarters in a hut by the roadside, an hour before sunset, as the next house is 16 miles ahead of us. Mr. Rausch was acquainted with the inhabitants of the same, in previous years. The people made us very welcome to all that they have. The man has his father living with him. He is 84 years old. He was originally from Ireland. He had much to say concerning the religion of his fathers who were Presbyterians, to which denomination the whole household belongs. But they are well fitted for this wilderness, the mistress of the house in particular, who is acquainted with all kinds of work, and has the experience which fits her for life in the wilds. Yet there was no lack of living provision. I had opportunity to speak much of experimental Christianity, little as they themselves knew of the subject. At their request, I read several passages of Scripture, made comments upon them, sang a psalm, and offered prayer. We had a bed, with which no fault was to be found, after we had laid it on the floor, in order to have less company. We rested well, and the next morning were ready for the journey.

Wednesday, the 13th.

My wife prepared the breakfast as soon as possible so that we might be on our way. Last night it rained, but this morning at 8 o'clock it becomes clear. We travel 16 miles through a forest, arrive at the salt springs²² about noon, fodder our horses

here, continue our journey and find quarters with Widow Moffet,²³ from North Carolina. To-day we travelled 34 miles. As we found here a considerable household of grown up persons, I thought I would exercise the functions of my office here too; but this did not happen. The old lady was troubled about the change. The young folks got out of the way. She belonged to the so-called Quaker congregation. They gave us what we asked. To-day we rode 34 miles.

Thursday, the 14th.

We started early, and rode into the town of Chillicothe, Ross County, before breakfast. It is again very warm. Here we have our breakfast prepared at the hotel. Friend Rausch goes through the town to find Germans. I do the same. But we find only some few, who do not willingly acknowledge it. They have little inclination for religion. No one is able to inform us about the way to Lebanon or any other place where Germans are living. We begin to think that we will have to set out on our homeward journey, but just at this time it turned out that there was a German here from Brush Creek,²⁴ 32 miles from here, who was on his way home from Lancaster. When he heard my name, he was highly delighted. "Oh," said he, "this is the man about whom my brother Jacob has spoken so much, that he heard him preach in North Carolina, 18 years ago. After this testimony, I have often wished to become acquainted myself with this man. But enough. There is a small neighborhood of Germans with me, so go along home with us. I will soon have them all assembled." As I knew his brother in North Carolina, to be one of the most prominent men in the advancement of the church and school, yes, who in all points lived according to the Gospel, above all whom I knew, we soon fell in with this plan. At 11 o'clock we ride away from Chillicothe, and at 10 o'clock at night we reach his dwelling. A hard day for my wife. Travelled 42 miles to-day, though so long delayed in the town.

The man lives on the road to Kentucky,²⁵ and keeps the public house in Highland County. The house was full of people who were on their way to a Campmeeting. We immediately re-

tire, I am obliged to sleep with an old rusty Methodist preacher,²⁶ and my wife with an old sister, concerning whom my wife had doubts as to whether she did not have the itch, which she would not admit. But be that as it may, we both caught it, and then it soon broke out on both of us. These got up very early the next morning, and prepared themselves for their affair.

Friday, the 15th.

Our friend Rausch rode off after breakfast to New Market,²⁷ Highland Courthouse, 18 miles from here, to make an appointment for me to preach there next Sunday. When the man of the house informed us that there was a small neighborhood of Germans here, my wife and I rode 2 miles farther, across the Brush Creek, where we learned that our old friend Abraham Roth, and his estimable wife live there, whom the Lord, already in the year 1783, had given as the first seal of my office. Through the whole course of years, under many difficulties, these have remained faithful. The thought that we should meet them here, in such a wilderness, is delightful. The man of the house sends out messages and has the time for the sermon set for to-morrow. We find our friends living in their new dwelling; very much surprised and highly delighted at our unexpected arrival. How fortunate it is that Providence has led us hither, for my wife is very unwell, and it would be difficult for her to travel farther. We rest here for to-day. I get to work at writing. Here we passed the time pleasantly together. The household seems to take pleasure in the conversation, but how soon was the pleasure disturbed by the housewife! She is called from us to serve as midwife at a house 4 miles away, where they have much sickness, and where the man of the house was drunk during the whole night, and had others like him in his company, who joined in with him, and helped to (pass) the night. Oh, what an ungodly people has the old State of Virginia²⁸ already delivered into this newly settled state! This evening already, we were visited by former acquaintances, whom we treasure as believing Christians.

Saturday, the 16th.

This is a beautiful day. As several neighbors are here very early, together with those who spent last night here, we have a small gathering of people who induce me to devote an hour to edification. Soon after breakfast, to our astonishment, Mrs. Roth comes back home on foot. The monster, who should have accompanied her home, was still drunk from last night. When they were still a mile from home he fell from his horse, and so frightened the horse of the good woman that she was soon thrown. Although at first the fall hurt her severely, she walked home. Because of the fright it gave her, she was quite bewildered when she arrived, so that she could give no accurate account of the accident. A number of fainting fits followed, one after the other, until it seemed to us as if she were about to die. I bled her a little, my wife hunted a certain herb, drew its strength with boiling water, and administered it to her. She was better soon. In the meantime the people were assembled. Our service was to have been held in a barn, a mile from here; but this accident led us to transfer it hither. The young men erected a hut of leaves before the door, placed boards for seats, while others were in the house. I took my place in the house at the door and preached to the great satisfaction of Germans and English. As I noticed much attentiveness on the part of the assembly in general, everything seemed very much revived. I baptized 8 children, and installed two men as trustees, Samuel Schuhmacher and Philip Roth, the latter a nephew of the host. He was still a young householder, who had received much instruction from Rev. Mr. Streit,²⁹ had been confirmed by him, and through him in great measure had come to a knowledge of himself — for to become really pious, is a right serious matter. He is a highly gifted man, who was the choice of the assembled congregation.

Here I entered the names of all the heads of German families, numbering 29. The most of them had been former members of mine, and likewise the most of them had settled here just the previous year. They collected £ 1. 0. 3. It is late by the time everything is done, but my tasks are not altogether ended for today with the customary benediction. One of my audience and

his wife come to me again about twilight. About three weeks before, the man was suddenly struck down as by lightning, and on recovering consciousness was thrown into the greatest trouble and perplexity. He said that doubt had taken so strong a hold on him, that he was strongly tempted to commit suicide. An Englishman, his neighbor, did much for him in his circumstances and would probably have done more for him if he had spoken the same language. He said most particularly, that today's sermon had been a guide to him, to reveal the way and means by which to be saved. To him I preached, who knows how long, in an altogether evangelical manner. He returned to his dwelling fully delighted, in order to get ready the same night to ride to service the next day. With this I finally closed the day. Tomorrow I am to preach 16 miles from here. Different ones have promised to go along. We are obliged to rise early. I shall no doubt have to preach twice. Friend Rausch would so arrange, and if I had forbidden him a hundred times.

Sunday, the 17.

This morning we leave the household of Friend Roth. He himself goes with us to service. His wife very much lamented her fate that she could not go with us. Within the first three miles all who had promised to go along, besides others, joined us. Our company is composed of 7 persons who are going along to service. We must ride through a forest a distance of 13 miles. It is half past ten by the time we arrive at the place. The already mentioned man, who visited me last evening, entered into conversation with my wife, with which he declared himself well contented. Upon our arrival, we find all the Germans assembled, who are living in the whole neighborhood, as well as many English. Here we again meet our friend Rausch. As this place has just newly been settled, and as it has as yet mostly small houses, there is none large enough. The wind blows very strongly, or we would use the forest for this purpose. Nevertheless we secured a frame inn, into which as many gathered as could. Yesterday I was the first German preacher who had been at the Brush' Creek, and so here today, in this place. The first sermon was for the Germans, during which all were quiet and very attentive. Cer-

tainly several must have been touched by it. I baptized eight children here. After this followed an English sermon. But what shall I say to this assembly? Several of them are even drunk, and the others look very dissolute. What more could I wish than that the sermon would fall as heavily upon them; as it was for me to preach. But I do my duty. They are not all drunk. The Germans understand some of it. Yes, in fact, it goes better than was expected, but what the fruits thereof may be, the Lord alone knows. I installed two men as trustees of the congregation, Andreas Schafer, who is from the congregation at Hagerstown, and Philip Wilkin, who is from Shenandoah County, Virginia. Here I received £. 1. 5. 0. The Germans were delighted to hear that such good preparations had been made for the spread of the Gospel, in which they hoped to have part, in the future. After the conclusion of the service, I rode home with a German, one and one-half miles away, and baptized his child. I reproved him that he held his and his wife's mother tongue in such little esteem, and did not teach it to their children. Here I received £. 0. 3. 0. I rode home with Friend Wilkin, a distance of three miles. Upon our arrival, which was at twilight, we found the house full, and to these I had to speak, at their request. Here I again recorded all the German households, to the number of thirty-five, but most of them just lately settled here. A number of households were from my former congregation; some from Pastor Schmucker's, who were delighted to hear that we were also acquainted with him. At 10 o'clock we broke up; the work for today is ended, and I am glad that I can go to rest. Tomorrow, God willing, we intend to go to the Little Miami.

Monday, the 18th.

We start as early as possible, in order to make as long a day's journey as we can. Today we first ride through a forest, a distance of nine miles, through a very marshy bottom,³⁰ find a house, and then go twenty miles more before we reach the next house. This is also a very heavy road, so many wet places, and such a marshy bottom. We have difficulty to find the right path. We get across the Little Miami and quarter there. Today, according to our reckoning, we rode thirty-four miles.

Tuesday, the 19th.

For certain reasons, we got no supper last night, and this morning we get nothing again, so we ride seven miles to Augustin Preis', a mile beyond Lebanon in Warren County. Our yesterday's dinner could have been better, too. So this morning it tastes good to us, when at 9 o'clock we get something to eat. Friend Rausch is acquainted with this householder. He informs us where our acquaintances live, shows us the way to Pastor Christman's,³¹ a Reformed preacher, who was well known to me in North Carolina. We arrived there at 2 o'clock, and now, God be praised, we again found a home. The man and his children, who are all grown up, are very glad for our visit. His good wife left this world seven years ago. He told us that his colleague, Jacob Laros,³² a worthy man, also a Reformed preacher, whom we knew in North Carolina, was living only ten miles from here. I was very glad to hear this. Our journey today was about fourteen miles. We rest here today. In the evening we were visited by a young man and his married sister, whose father had served for a numbr of years as trustee in one of my congregations. How glad these are to find us here in this wilderness! for they thought they would never again see their well-known pastor. I, of a truth, am delighted myself, and the more as I learn from Mr. Christman that they lead upright lives. Mr. Christman makes the arrangements for me to preach.

Wednesday, the 20th.

This morning I write a letter to Pastor Schmucker,³³ in Hagerstown. Mr. Rausch makes himself well acquainted with Mr. Christman. After breakfast we rode to Lebanon. Provided certain necessary things for the journey home; visited David Mauger, four miles from this place. I ought really to have preached here this evening, but through misunderstanding, it was neglected. The man's son and his wife visited us. I conversed much with them about whatever I thought necessary. The young wife had been baptized by me soon after her marriage, the recollection of which added to her freedom in speaking with me.

Thursday, the 21st.

I preach in a house that was advantageously built for holding divine service, at the so-called Clear Creek.³⁴ This is the first house that I came across in the whole State that was built for a church. It is large enough to hold a numerous assembly. Mr. Christman, through much diligence, had brought this to pass. It was built in common by the two denominations. Here I also found trustees in office on both sides. The one on the side of the Lutheran Church, Adam Zeffass, an estimable young householder, was instructed and confirmed by me thirteen years ago, which according to his testimony was a source of blessing to him. I found much pleasure in conversation with him. Mr. Christman bore witness that he lived well in accord with his profession. Here I preach both German and English. Although I had to speak in English without any preparation, this sermon received the greater approbation, from both Germans and English. Here I baptized no children. But Mr. Christman recorded all the German households, numbering thirty-three. The trustee handed £. o. 11. 3. in to me. We rode from here to Mr. Laros'. Mr. Christman and Friend Rausch, go to one of his neighbors to secure quarters. But oh, how rejoiced was not this estimable man at our arrival! He only complained that he had done so little for the Kingdom of Jesus, since he came here. He had begun housekeeping here in the forest only two years ago. His youngest son, who was almost fully grown, who did the farming, had been taken from him by an early death, some weeks before; his horse had fallen upon him so that he could not ride out anywhere, etc.

He had gathered a very small congregation in this neighborhood, which he had arranged for me to preach to. He preaches every Sunday, but more he cannot do. I have to pity the poor man.

Friday, the 22nd.

We go afoot to the place appointed for the service, to the house of Michael Ungerer. Here we found almost all the Germans, who live in the neighborhood. As the house is too small, we arrange a place under shade trees. I preach, according to my

custom, on Eph. 4:21. The most of my hearers are from Pastor Schulze's³⁵ congregation in Pennsylvania. The people were attentive and pleased at the opportunity. £. o. 18. o. was collected here from the congregation. My colleagues Christman and Laros were present, helped lead the singing, etc. The man of the house had dinner prepared for us, of which we partook in the midst of edifying intercourse. We again went home with Mr. Laros. Towards evening we were visited by a trustee and some other persons, who gave me the names of the householders while I recorded them. There are twenty-two of them.

Saturday, the 23rd.

I write a letter to Pastor Mann,³⁶ who is living only a day's journey from here. This afternoon we ride across the Great Miami with Mr. Christman. Mr. Rausch goes with others to a place where he wants to hear the service of the quite lately established congregation of the so-called Shakers,³⁷ and to see their practice, which is for the whole congregation to dance. This odd custom I also desired to witness, but I dare not interrupt the duties of my office on this account. We are quartered with Michael Ermerrich at the Twin Creek³⁸ in Montgomery County. A number of his neighbors visited us this evening, with whom we had opportunity to consult much about what concerns the spread of the Gospel, and the planting of congregations.³⁹ The people report that they once had the pleasure of a visit from their former minister, Mr. Illian.

Sunday, the 24th.

Today I preach in a large new house of Adam (?) which has just been put under roof, and which is very roomy. The house is filled, and many are unable to find place in it. The youngsters climb upon the rafters and sit on boards. There are many present whom I knew elsewhere. I speak on Isaiah 61:1. I baptized seven children. The Lord was certainly in our midst today. Old and young are unable to hide the fact that they are experiencing the truth. They are all devotion, and attentiveness characterizes everyone. May the Lord, through His Spirit imprint it deep into the hearts of all. Both my colleagues, Christman and Laros, re-

joyce from the heart on this occasion. Oh, yes, I believe that through their praying, the Lord added increased blessing. I know they would sing with me:

Herr Jesu, pflanz Erkenntniss fort,
Auf Kind und Kindes Kinder,
Gib Kraft und Nachdruck deinem Wort,
Beleb die toten Sünder,
Lass rufen die verlorne Schaff,
Erwach sie von dem Sünden Schlaf,
Bring sie zu deiner Herde.⁴⁰

There were but few English here, nevertheless I must admonish them likewise. I informed them concerning the preparations of the Synod for the training of young preachers, and the spread of the Gospel, which the congregation highly approved. Both my colleagues added a word, to remind them of their duty at least to advance this good beginning with their cheerful support. Mr. Christman himself caught up the small plate from off the table, and gave it to one of his trusted friends with the command: "Go through the whole congregation, and ask something from each one." The man obeyed the order, and collected £. 3. 18. 0. A certain justice of the peace, I. Conkel, wrote down all the German householders, and gave me the list after the sermon. There were 102 of them counted, the farthest off, living seven miles. We have now gone as far as we dare. From now on, our appointments lie on the way home. Alas, we lament to hear of regions which lie farther on, settled by Germans. Had we known this, we would have set our appointments for the journey home at a later date — but it is also necessary that I should be at home. Certain people, altogether strangers, part from us with tears. The man of the house had dinner prepared; as soon as we had eaten, we took our departure and rode home again with Mr. Christman, a distance of twelve miles. On this evening's journey we meet with a house, the owner of which was known to me in childhood already, and whose wife's brother was one of my school companions. These and other acquaintances awaited us at the house, where they, as they had learned a few hours before, that I was in the neighborhood. They entreated me earnestly to remain longer in order to preach in English also. Mr. Christman

preached English in this house, at times. Gladly would I have gratified their desire, but it could not be done this time. Dear Friends, should it fall to my lot to come into this country in the future, I shall preach in all parts, to all who care to hear. We arrived at Mr. Christman's about 8 o'clock in the evening. Put up here again.

Monday, the 25th.

This morning we ride away from this household. The daughter prepared as much bread and boiled meat as we needed. We regret our separation from them. They weep at the departure of my wife as if they were being separated from their mother. Mr. Christman accompanied us for three miles, until he felt sure that we were on the right road, then he committed us to the Lord and let us go. We ride the whole morning through a well-settled stretch, but where mostly the so-called Quakers⁴¹ are to be found. Mr. Christman had informed us that we would find no opportunity to teach among them, so we must let them alone. About noon we stop with a German who was raised in the Evangelical Lutheran Church. He is still able to speak his mother tongue, but since he settled here among the heathen, he has acquired many of their habits, so that he had almost forgotten the customs as well as the religion of his fathers, and brings up his children accordingly. It may be said of him: By birth and education, a Christian, by disposition and habit, a heathen. But enough of him. We continue our journey from here through a forest, which lasts for ten miles. Here we again come upon a hut. We secure stabling and fodder for the horses. My wife makes the supper herself—but we first wash all the dishes with hot water. The tea cups are pitched together, as it were, with old grease. We obtained a bed too, but we found that the hungry bed-fellows were so numerous here, that in the middle of the night we were driven out, and made our escape to a hay stable. We took some clothing and covers with us, in which many of them stuck. Through the whole night we were unable to kill all of them. But we had this advantage that by as many as we killed, by so many was the number of them noticeably decreased, which was not the case in the house. Yesterday we rode thirty-five miles. We

would rather have rested better. Nevertheless we slept some before day came. My wife prepared breakfast and we left.

Tuesday, the 26th.

We now ride away again from this "Fleaburg" into the wilderness. I do not know the name of the county into which we went. From here we again ride twenty miles through a wilderness, with no house to be seen. Frequently we are scarcely able to keep the path. At 3 o'clock we again find a house, where we obtain fodder for the horses. The man and his wife were both known to me from youth up. They also gave us something to eat. Here we met some other households with which we were acquainted. I should have preached here, too, had I known about it. We are now fifteen miles from Chillicothe. There I am to preach tomorrow. We came upon a German, by the name of I. Pontius, a respectable man, about three miles from Chillicothe. Here we were very well accommodated. We rest well, this night. Today we traveled forty-two miles.

Wednesday, the 27th.

I preached in the court house in the town. I do not know the reason, but there were very few present. Whether they had not heard about it, or whether they did not care for it, I cannot say. But this we learned: that the German inhabitants of the place are prejudiced against the German pastors. They are probably possessed with what many others are possessed, stupid pride and lightmindedness! They brought serious charges of evil conduct against two Reformed preachers, who were among them. I do not remember what their names were — they were both strange to me. We hurried away as we did not want to hear their allegorical, mocking speeches. We rode sixteen miles yet during the afternoon and found quarters with one of my boyhood acquaintances. This man has a large household. Here it was my intention to exercise some of the duties of my calling. But the man did not come home until night, he also appeared to be drunk, and besides is very ignorant and light-minded. He had company with him, of his own stamp. There was simply nothing to be done here. We traveled nineteen miles.

Thursday, the 28th.

It looks like rain this morning. It is already cool. We start as early as possible, and continue almost the whole day. It is a hard day for the horses for they must go almost the whole day without water. We found several high hills to climb. We rode forty-two miles today and arrived at Christian Seler's, where I am to preach tomorrow.

Friday, the 29th.

I preach in the barn. There are as yet few Germans here. These were attached to the congregation on the Ohio, but the assembly is somewhat augmented by the attendance of the newly confirmed from the Ohio. I also delivered an English address, but everything moves in a slow, cold, dead manner. Here I again baptized 7 children. I received £0.7.6. After the sermon we rode quite to Point Pleasant. We find Mrs. Rausch well. Now we are in a good home, and what gives us more pleasure, we find in the postoffice, near Mr. Rausch's, a letter from our household, which informs us that all is well and in good shape. We thank the Lord for it.

Saturday, the 30th.

I preached at Point Pleasant, baptized 2 children, received one dollar. In the afternoon I baptized 5 children of an English man. In the evening, outside of the town, I baptized 2 other children. Received 2 dollars.

Sunday, the 31st.

To-day we, with some others, again made a trip up the Ohio. A young man did the rowing. We arrived at the appointed place about half past ten. Here we found our Germans already assembled. The first sermon was delivered to the English, and after the German sermon was ended we parted from our friends and again returned by water to Point Pleasant, to Mr. Rausch, as it was already 9 o'clock and we had the company of a woman on this evening journey, who is closely related to me. Twenty years ago, by the grace of God, she had been brought properly to take thought for herself. But as she could get to hear no other preachers than Methodists, Bap-

tists, etc., by such her progress had to be furthered. But this was bound up with so much imagination, that she was unable to grasp any right exposition of the order of salvation, for which purpose none of the books which she had were of any value, although the reading of certain books could have been beneficial. But as she was living a short day's journey up the Ohio, and had been informed of this opportunity, she and her husband started out to hear to-day's sermon. But as they lost their way, they did not arrive until at the conclusion of my last sermon. But in order to speak with me on the subject, she goes with us down the river while her husband goes across country with Mrs. Rausch. Alas, it is to be lamented that perplexed people ever must listen to such fanatics as their pastors. I had to contend with much, in making the matter plain to her; but in vain. Although I did not doubt her sincerity, yet I see that my effort is fruitless for the time being. But the Lord doeth all things well. I commit her to His grace. At 11 o'clock we start on the journey we have to make. To-morrow we wish to begin our journey home.

Monday, Sept. 1st.

We ride away from here. Mr. Rausch accompanies us 12 miles. It is raining somewhat, and we also become somewhat wet. It clears up at 2 o'clock, and the sun shines warmly so that we feel no ill effects. We are again well entertained by Daniel Gomer. Here we stayed on our way out. There are very few households settled here. We rode 32 miles to-day.

Tuesday, the 2nd.

We rode 30 miles more. We find quarters at the house of Rufner, where we stayed on our way out.

Wednesday, the 3rd.

Here there was some talk of my staying over to preach a German sermon, but matters did not suit at all for this.

We do not leave until 9 o'clock. Our way leads up along the great Kanaway. This section is settled entirely by English people, who belong to the Baptist denomination. I had intended

to preach here also, on my way home, but had no opportunity to make an appointment, and now it is too late, because of other appointments which are still before me. To-day we travel 30 miles. We find a very rough way, and are obliged to go 4 or 5 miles through a dark forest, by night. We found our quarters as good as we had expected.

Thursday, the 4th.

This morning we start early. Our host goes with us as far as the Kanaway river, and points out the ford to us. The river is no where very deep, but flows very rapidly. It is likewise very broad (a good quarter mile). My wife became somewhat frightened when she saw that the river was both deeper and much broader than it appeared from the shore. We passed over safely. After riding 5 miles we again arrived at the house which stands at the head of the Kanaway. We found the fire under the shade tree, as we had on our way out. My wife again made coffee over it, and after we had eaten we continued our journey. The day is a hard one for us. It is very warm, and we are again in the midst of the mountains. I had overfed my horse somewhat, so that toward evening he became stiff—so that we did not reach our intended stopping place by 7 miles. It became dark, and the horse could hardly go any more. We began to think we would have to stay in the forest. But finally we found a hut by the road, but no field and no stable. We build a little palisade of rails, and fed the horses there. The host is a young man, who is very light-minded. Here there were some young men, hunters, and some travellers. The hut was filled. Some of them were already intoxicated and asked for more. It seemed as if the end of it would be a wild time, but I remained quiet until I would see what more would take place. In the meanwhile, there came a traveller from Point Pleasant who had heard me preach there, and knew me well. He asked me whether I was not the man. Now that I was betrayed, all of them changed their behaviour, and their society became endurable. They all appeared very willing to take part in the evening prayer, and listened attentively to the address I made. We also secured a much better bed than we had expected. The others

all lay down on the floor. Here we rested better than at "Fleaburg" or "Bugtown."

Friday, the 5th.

This morning I wish to speak somewhat more intimately with my company; but I am disappointed, for as soon as it is day, each one sets out on his way, and we are left almost alone. But I am well satisfied that I am able to attend to the horses and that my wife can prepare the breakfast. We do not hurry, for we have only 12 miles to travel to-day. So we take time to do what is most necessary; fodder the horses properly, which is very necessary at such an inn. We reach our quarters at Peter Bair's, about 12 o'clock. It is a beautiful day. We rest, and I write up my diary.

Saturday, the 6th.

By about noon there assembles an orderly gathering of English people, who prove themselves earnest listeners. The sermon moved some very considerably. I preached on Rom. 2:4. During this sermon I saw that a young maiden, of about 15 years of age, was under the influence of the so-called "Jerks"⁴² (as the English call it). As there is so much (?) of all kinds among the English people, I was always of the opinion that it could be prevented by the people themselves. But in the case of this weak little creature, I was convinced that the influence was contrary to her will. All the circumstances connected therewith gave me convincing proof of this.

We have 24 miles to Greenbrier Courthouse, where I am to preach to-morrow, 19 of them we had ridden by 8 o'clock in the evening. We put up with Mr. Hazenbiller, from whose wife my wife had borrowed the saddle. We will soon come again to where our chaise is. This afternoon the way was rough. We reach our destination at night. We are glad, and retire early.

Sunday, the 7th.

My wife stays here to-day and keeps company with the lady of the house, who is lying so ill with the gout. Mr. Hazenbiller's son rides with me to town, to the meeting. Here we find the largest assembly (so the people say) which has ever

been seen, almost, at a German service. They wanted to have an opportunity to hear an English sermon this afternoon, but for certain reasons I refused it.

Monday, the 8th.

For the sake of his wife, I preached in the house of Mr. Hazenbiller. The house was filled. The discourse had an effect upon many as I took advantage of the opportunity because of the sad circumstances, to remind them of the frailty of man. After the sermon I returned my borrowed horse, and paid the owner of it. Here I baptized 4 children for the English. We rode home with Abraham Roder, where we again found our chaise.

Tuesday, the 9th.

We again pack up our chaise and drive off. We go 8 miles to I. Kessler's. Here I deliver another German sermon in his large house. We must tarry here to-day in order to have my horse shod at the smithy.

Wednesday, the 10th.

We continue our journey, travelled through the Aloganey Mountains, but put only 28 miles behind us because of the rough way. We must also take up our quarters a little before dark, because of the opportunity we have to stay here, which will not occur again within the next 10 miles. This is a young household. The man seems willing to speak about Christianity, but his wife is very ignorant, and can talk neither German nor English. My wife made an effort to draw her out, but it was plainly fruitless. There are no Germans living near this man; on the whole there are very few people in these mountains. I enquire of him concerning places where Germans may be living. He informs me that several small German congregations were gathered at the Jackson river, by a pastor Wagener, a Lutheran preacher, but who seldom preached there. He says that the nearest are 8 or 9 miles from his place. We should have paid these a visit too, but because of appointment there is not time enough for it now.

Thursday, the 11th.

We start early in the hope of getting out of the mountains altogether to-day. But our intention was disappointed, for when we were still a mile from the Hot Spring, the ferrule of one of the wheels of our chaise became altogether loose. I have to go on foot and tie the wheel with (?). It was 3 o'clock When we reached the Hot Spring. We did not reach the house until sunset, and were obliged to stay there until the next day. I took advantage of the opportunity to inform ourselves through our host Rothenhafer and his wife, who showed us so much love and friendship as their circumstances allowed. By them information was given concerning our route.

Friday, the 12th.

We could not drive off as early as we should have liked; we had to wait until our chaise was ready. To-day we travelled only eighteen miles. We found it necessary to go to Hot Springs the last night. From it I find myself sick to-day. We sojourn at Cowpaster⁴³ river; here we had also been on our former journey. This hotel is not to be endured; the people give you what they have for the money, and let you to yourself to prepare what one has, which my wife had to do for us. We have a good rest, and by the next day I am again quite well.

Saturday, the 13th.

The day begins with a heavy rain, and so continues until noon. We managed to keep from getting wet by means of my wife's umbrella, as driving was somewhat better than yesterday. We reach our friend Michael Schurer (?). Here I am to preach German and English to-morrow. The man was much pleased with our former journey, as well as with the expectation of my preaching in his house on my return; and he was much distressed because my letter of information had not arrived, though it had been sent in good time; it had been perniciously neglected by one of his German neighbors. Moreover, one of his grown sons had been buried only yesterday; and four weeks ago, his grown daughter. We find it necessary to bring to the mind of these people much from the Scriptures, to give them proper consolation. To-day we travelled 35 miles.

Sunday, the 14th.

We are now again in Augusta County, and I am sorry that on this beautiful day no arrangements had been made for me. We start on our journey with a view of getting nearly to our home. Inasmuch, however, as a so-called camp-meeting hindered us, of which we had known nothing until we came to it about 3 o'clock, there we were detained by many acquaintances we met. Some of them wanted to hear my opinion concerning it; but as I did not care to give it, we were only detained the longer. We sojourned at (?)burg in Rockingham County.

Monday, the 15th.

We reached home about 3 o'clock, and found everything well.

Remarks: This journey lasted from the 7th of July until the 14th of September. Four days, however, are to be deducted because I preached for Pastor Flohr.

The following is a short account of the journey I made as travelling preacher, from home to the State of Ohio, as well as of the German churches and schools, which I found there, and then of the distance from one place to another.

From New Market to the Genesis Gap in Augusta County is 50 miles. There are many German schools and churches which are always cared for. From here to Lewisburg, Greenbrier Courthouse is 100 miles; but little settled because of the mountains. There are no Germans to be found, except one household, which has already degenerated greatly. I was told of a small German neighborhood on the Jackson river, situated about 10 miles out of the way, but of which I learned nothing until I had passed it.

About Lewisburg there are several German congregations, but which have built no church, but they have German schools. Pastor Flohr serves them every six weeks. From Lewisburg to Peter Bair's, near Sullivan Mountain, is 24 miles. There I preached to his neighbors in his house, who, however, are all English.

From there to the head of the Great Kanaway is about 45 miles—nothing but high mountains and little settled. From

there it is 90 miles to the mouth of the Great Kanaway, at Point Pleasant. On the way we found two households which are of German origin, but raise their children in the English language. The English Anabaptists, formerly had a preacher here, and also built a church, but at present everything is much decayed. I found opportunity to preach in the Kanaway Court-house.

At Point Pleasant,⁴⁴ in Mason County, there are also few Germans to be found as yet—neither churches nor schools.

In Grayham Station,⁴⁵ 18 miles up the Ohio, is a little German congregation, but they formerly had a good German school. The schoolmaster was a (?) man and a good singer, and did the young people much good, in that he gave them good instruction in the same. But he has moved away.

From Point Pleasant to the salt works in Ross County is 36 miles, 16 miles of which is untouched forest, and the rest of the way, little settled. About the salt works there live but few. Those who own or run the works are all English. They don't care to spend any time listening to preaching.

From there it is 30 miles to Chillicothe. There, too, are few Germans living who are provided with churches or schools. From thence there are none either. From there to Brush Creek is 34 miles. There, there is a regular German congregation, but they have as yet built no church, nor organized a school.

From Brush Creek to Highland Courthouse is 18 miles, almost all of which distance is nothing but forest. About the Courthouse there are enough Germans to make up a fair congregation. They also have a German school, but have built no church as yet. (Highland Courthouse is called New Market.)

From New Market to the Little Miami is 36 miles. The road runs through a forest for 9 miles. Then again, through another for a distance of 18 miles. The rest of the road is little settled. From the Little Miami, it is 6 miles to Lebanon, Warren County. The way is settled by Quakers. Very few Germans live about Lebanon.

At Clear Creek, 9 miles from Lebanon, there is a German church built, which is quite serviceable. The people were engaged in establishing a German school. Mr. Christman, a Re-

formed preacher, is serving there. At the Great Miami, in Montgomery County, 12 miles from Clear Creek, is also a small German congregation, which is served by Mr. Jacob Laros, a Reformed preacher, where they also have a German school, but no church built. Across the Great Miami on the Twin Creek, there is a strong congregation, but as yet no church built. There is also a German school there.

The following heads of families are living on the Ohio, about Point Pleasant, part in the State of Ohio, part in Mason County, State of Virginia:

Johannes Rausch, Nicklaus Jager, Georg Rifel, Matheis Rifel, Peter Jager, Michael Will, Andreas Eckert, Peter Beck, John Schmit, Michael Sechrist, Georg Wolf, Michael Roder, Jonas Rausch, Daniel Rausch, Georg Rausch, Abraham Zirkel, Adam Roder, I. Sebril, Abraham Hazenbiller, David Durst, Henrich Rausch, Henrich Rausch, Peter Wolf, Peter Lorenz, Daniel Jendes, Michael Zirkel, Henrich Nehs, Jacob Rausch, Georg Schweitzer, Nickolaus Zin, Philip Rausch, Abraham Losly, Christian Seeler, Philip Schweitzer, Henrich Seeler, I. Rothermel, Walter Newman.

The following heads of families live in Highland County, Brush Creek Township: Adam Kehler, Peter Stolz, Jacob Stolz, Johannes Stolz, Johannes Herter, Johannes Countryman, Michael Stolz, Samuel Denner, Jacob Miller, Johannes Fischer, Johannes Miller, Simion Schuhmacher, Martin Schuhmacher, Immanuel Moser, Samuel Schuhmacher, Heinrich Countryman, Philip Roth, Johannes Roth, Friedrich Braucher, Jacob Hiestand, Willhelm Ritschi, Jacob Blatter, Peter Blatter, Michael Schnebly, Abraham Roth, Wilhelm Rebbinger, I. Weber, I. Wahrheim.

In Highland County, New Market,⁴⁶ are the following heads of German families: Philip Wilkin, Andreas Schafer, Adam Arnold, Johannes Rausch, Heinrich Rausch, Isaac Lehman, Peter Hup, Johannes Bar, Andreas Carl, Peter Schneider, Wilhelm Boyd, Anthon Straub, Christian Blum, Johan Bernhart, M. Bernhart, M. Boyd, Michael Straub, Jacob Ebersohl, Jacob Kaufman, Georg Martin, Adam Lenz, Georg Fender, Johannes Hup, Gottfried Wilkin, Georg Wolf, Ludwig Kubler, M. Metz-

ger, Adam Lingerman, M. Lingerman, M. Preis, M. Preis, Jacob Brim.

In Warren County, Franklin Township, on the Clear Creek, are the following heads of households: Jacob Zeller, Michael Engel, Dieter Kiesling, Henrich Konig, Wendel Eir, Christian Noll, Adam Blin, Heinrich Noll, Franz Eir, Philip Schwarzel, Johan Agi, Johannes Stehr, Samuel Eberman, Adam Noll, Heinrich Zeller, Johannes Brill, Johannes Asias, Johannes Fuchs, Carl Noll, David Mauger, Peter Zeller, Christian Zeller, Johannes Zeller, Adam Zerfas, Heinrich Hebner, Adam Herman, Johannes Bair, Peter Herschman, Martin Erhart, Johannes Lingel, Johannes Lang, J. Dotro, Martin Kirschner.

In Montgomery County, Washington Township, near the Great Miami, are the following heads of German households: Georg Gebhart, Sr., Georg Gebhart, Jr., Valentin Gebhart, Jacob Lang, Heinrich Streiter, Michael Ungerer, Johannes Gebhart, Tobias Wirzel, Jacob Gebhart, Philip Laros, Johannes Stehr, David Scherer, Wilhelm Lang, Isaac Meyer, Friedrich Notz, Georg Meyer, David Graul, Philip Gebhart, Jacob Kercher, Andreas Gebhart, Jacob Bahm, Georg Ulrich.

A list of the German inhabitants of German Township, in the County of Montgomery, and State of Ohio, taken the 23rd day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1806.

Philip Guncel, John Enrich, Christopher Enrich, Wilhelm Enrich, Sr., Wilhelm Enrich, Jr., Michael Enrich, Martin Shuy, John Pouly, Ant. Rigerd, Jacob Swenk, Adam Stiver, Henry Huble, Henry Christ, Georg Kern, Daniel Kemp, Jacob Kemp, John Kemp, Philip Kemp, John Gebhard, Georg Kahrel, Sr., Georg Kahrel, Jr., John Kahrel, George Morgenstare, John Loy, George Loy, Peter Loy, Gabriel Thomas, Peter Ketrow, Charles Ketrow, John Rum, Fridrich Reed, John Anspach, George Tempel, Michael Temple, Leonhard Stump, Jacob Alwein, Konrad Eisly, Valentin Good, Johothan Lindenmut, Georg Genger, John Wagner, Jacob Brower, John Brower, George Kister, Jacob Henry, John Reisinger, George Boyer, Henry Bumershim, Jacob Koleman, Henry Swartzly, Abraham Swartzly, Jacob Hell, Georg Tittel, George Ramberger, Abraham Neff, John Stiver, Chasper Stiver, Sr., Chasper Stiver, Jr., Androw Zeller, Peter Wile, John

Zeller, Fredrich Woolf, Sr., Fredrich Woolf, Jr., Jacob Bouer, Peter Shefer, John Houhrer, Philip Woolf, George Moyer, John Shupherd, Christopher Shupherd, John Adam Boss, Doct., Mathias Regel, Henry Gephard, Daniel Manbule, George Stetler, Henry Stetler, William Stetler, Abraham Pontine, John Berlod, George Gephard, Jr., George Gephard, Sr., Henry Apel, Jacob Wuver, Peter Kritner, Androw Kreitrer, John Nein, Jacob Smith, Christian Fogelrong, John Keck, David Miller, Daniel Stetler, Nicholas Cook, Jacob Stetler, John Lengel, Henry Fall, John Gephard, John Gumkee, Peter Reger, John Seiber, Henry Oier.

On this journey I served 72 days, collected £.18.16., baptized 96 children.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

1. A sketch of Rev. Paul Henkel was written by his grandson, Rev. Socrates Henkel, and is published in the History of the Lutheran Tennessee Synod.

A more complete biographical account prepared by his son, Rev. Andrew Henkel, appears in Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit and is here appended.

GERMANTOWN, O., February 21, 1863.

MY DEAR BROTHER: I cheerfully comply with your request for some notices of the life and character of my venerable father. What I shall write will be drawn chiefly from my own memory, but I think you may rely on its authenticity, as far as it goes.

My father, Paul Henkel, was the eldest son of Jacob Henkel, and a great grandson of the Rev. Gerhard Henkel, who emigrated from Germany at an early period, being one of the first Lutheran ministers who came to this country. Nearly all that is now known of his history is gathered from his Diary, which was found, some forty-five years ago, in the hands of his granddaughter, then living in Philadelphia, at the age of more than fourscore years. From this Diary it is ascertained that he had been a Court Preacher in Germany, and had preached a sermon which had greatly offended his Sovereign: and, in order to avoid difficulty, he sent in his resignation and came to America.

My father was born in the Forks of the Yadkin, in Rowan County, N. C., on the 15th of December, 1754. While he was yet a youth, his father's family and other families in the neighborhood were obliged to take refuge in the mountains of Western Virginia, in consequence of a bloody war which was waged by the Catawba

Indians against the whites of that country. Here, for a time, they had to live in forts and blockhouses, guarding themselves, as best they could, against savage cruelty. Under the circumstances, he often had to perform the arduous and dangerous duties of sentinel or spy, and soon became expert in the use of the rifle and familiar with hunting. In short, he was trained to, and became fond of, a backwoods life.

About the year 1776 my father and his younger brother Moses had their attention directed to the subject of religion as a personal concern, and consecrated themselves, as they believed, to the service and glory of their Redeemer. Moses soon became a Methodist, and was ultimately a distinguished minister in that connection. But the elder brother, believing that a more thorough course of theological training was necessary, placed himself under the instruction of the Rev. Krug, then Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Fredericktown, Md. Here he acquired considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and other branches of learning, having a bearing upon his future calling. With this preparation he applied to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania and the adjacent States, (then the only Lutheran Synod in this country,) and by that Body he was examined and licensed to preach. Having received a call from several vacant congregations in and about New Market, Va., he settled at that place, though he extended his labours into the Counties of Augusta, Madison, Pendleton and Wythe, where he laid the foundations of a goodly number of churches. On the 6th of June, 1792, he was solemnly set apart to the holy ministry, in the city of Philadelphia, the ordaining service being performed by the Rev. John Frederick Schmidt, Pastor of a church in that city.

After labouring for some time among the churches to which he was first introduced, he removed to Staunton, in Augusta County, and took charge of several churches in that neighborhood; and, having served them three years, he returned to New Market, and resumed his labours among his former people. In 1800 he received a call from several churches in Rowan (his native) County; but, though he accepted it, yet here, as in Virginia, he did not confine his labours to his immediate charge, but extended them to other places in the surrounding country, where they were especially needed. Whilst living in Rowan, he contracted friendly relations with several of the Moravian Clergy, who lived in and about Salem, often interchanging visits with them; and, as a special token of their regard, they dedicated his newly-built house in an appropriate manner, and gave to his fine limpid spring the name,—"Golden Spring,"—little dreaming, at the time, of the fact that has since been discovered, that there was actually gold there. The

region in which he now resided proved unhealthy, and his family were much afflicted by the fever and ague; in consequence of which, in 1805, he returned again to New Market. Having no inclination to confine himself to any single charge, he resolved to become an independent missionary, not depending for his support upon any missionary fund, but upon the good-will of those he might serve. In this way he made several tours through Western Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio; gathering the scattered members of the Church; administering to them the Word and Sacraments; instructing and confirming the youth, and, so far as practicable, organizing new congregations. During the War of 1812-1815, he took up his residence at Point Pleasant, Mason County, Va., and organized several congregations in that region, but, at the close of the War, returned to his old residence at New Market, and resumed his missionary labours.

In 1803, whilst living in North Carolina, he, with several other ministers, formerly belonging to the Synod of Pennsylvania, formed the Synod of North Carolina. In October, 1812, while he had his residence at Point Pleasant, about ten of the brethren, all of whom then belonged to the Old Synod of Pennsylvania, held their first special Conference West of the Alleghany Mountains, in Washington County, Pa. To this conference he was invited, but for certain reasons was unable to attend. But at the Conference of the next year, which was held at Clear Creek, Fairfield County, Ohio, he was present, and was recognized as one of their Body, though he still belonged to the Synod of North Carolina. Thus matters stood until September, 1817, when the brethren, having met in conference at New Philadelphia, passed Resolutions relative to forming themselves into an independent Body. This measure was strongly urged by several of the younger brethren, but equally opposed by the elder. There being but three ordained ministers present, (one of whom was my father), and their consent being indispensable to carry out the design, strong efforts were made to overcome their objections; and they finally did yield, and the desired object was accomplished. Thus it appears that he was not only one of the founders of the Synod of North Carolina, but also of the joint Synod of Ohio.

From some of his earlier publications it would appear that he favored some of the alterations in the Augsburg Confession made by Melancthon; but, after having more fully studied the views of the great Reformer, Luther, he became a zealous advocate of the original Confession, and had the twenty-one doctrinal articles published in pamphlet form for the benefit of the Church.

In 1809 he published a small work in the German language, which was afterwards translated into English, on Christian Bap-

tism and the Lord's Supper, in which he defends Infant Baptism and the Mode by Sprinkling, in preference to that of Immersion. In 1810 he published a German Hymn Book for the benefit of the Church, containing two hundred and forty-six Hymns; and in 1816 another, in the English language, which has since been enlarged and improved, and, at this time, contains four hundred and seventy-six Hymns, a portion of which are adapted to the Epistles and Gospels of the Ecclesiastical Year. A considerable number of these Hymns, both German and English, were composed by himself. In 1814 he published his German, and, not long afterwards, his English Catechism, for the special benefit of the young,—not changing the substance of the old Lutheran Catechism, but only dividing the long questions into shorter ones for the accommodations of the learner. To the Catechisms he appended an explanation of all the Fast and Festival days observed in the Church. About this time, his little German work, written in rhyme, entitled *Zeitvertreib* (Past-time) made its appearance, to the amusement of some and the annoyance of others—it was a satirical rebuke to fanaticism and superstition, vice and folly.

My father was a large man; within half an inch of six feet in height; with physical organs well developed; with a keen, black eye; as erect as an Indian; somewhat inclined to corpulency, and yet athletic and rapid in his movements. Though his health was not always good, yet he was almost constantly employed either in reading, writing, preaching or traveling; and, when necessary, he did not hesitate to labour with his hands. He had no desire for this world's goods beyond what was wanting for daily use—whatever savoured of ostentation was foreign to his nature. His manner of living was frugal, and his dress plain, and yet, in performing the services of the sanctuary, he uniformly wore a gown of rich black silk. He had great equanimity and serenity of temper, and his friendships were sincere and constant, and his friends numerous. In the social circle he always rendered himself agreeable, and often communicated important instruction by means of some pertinent, and sometimes humorous anecdote.

As a Preacher, he possessed much more than ordinary power. In the commencement of his discourse he was slow and somewhat blundering, but, as his subject opened before him, he would become animated and eloquent, with a full flow of appropriate thought and glowing language. His illustrations were lucid and forcible, simple and natural. He assisted in training a goodly number of young men for the ministry, some of whom have occupied responsible stations with great fidelity and usefulness.

After faithfully serving his generation for a long course of years, it pleased the Great Master to call him from his labours to

his reward. A stroke of palsy rendered him almost helpless for a time before his departure. He died on the 17th of November, 1825, when he had nearly completed his seventy-first year. His remains are deposited in front of the Lutheran Church in the town of New Market.

On the 20th of November, 1776, he was married to Elizabeth Negley, who, with her father's family, had emigrated from New Jersey to Western Virginia. They became the parents of nine children,—six sons and three daughters. The eldest son became a Physician, and the other five, Ministers of the Gospel in the Lutheran Church—two of whom yet survive in the exercise of their ministry.

I have the honor of subscribing myself

Your humble servant in Christ,

ANDREW HENKEL.

NOTE.

The five sons of Rev. Paul Henkel who became ministers in the Lutheran Church are:

1. Andrew Henkel.
2. Charles Henkel, 1798-1841. He died at Somerset, Perry County, Ohio, and is buried in the old Lutheran Cemetery there.
3. David Henkel, 1795-1831.
4. Philip Henkel, 1779-1833.
5. Ambrose Henkel, 1786-1870.

ADDENDA.

Rev. Charles Henkel was licensed as a "catechist" at Somerset, Ohio, in 1818. Immediately he took charge of the station at Point Pleasant, Virginia, where his father had visited in 1806. Returning a few years later to Ohio, he first took charge of congregations about Columbus. From here he came to Somerset, Ohio, in 1827, where he finally served a parish of nine congregations. He died of consumption February, 1841, at the early age of 43 years.

2. About the beginning of the eighteenth century a great tide of Lutheran emigration to America set in. Beginning in Pennsylvania, their settlements extending through Maryland, reached up the Shenandoah, into the heart of Western Virginia. New Market is about fifteen miles from Woodstock, where General Peter Muhlenberg performed the highly patriotic act as narrated in the note above. This event is the occasion of T. Buchanan Read's poem, "The Rising." Shenandoah

County (formerly Dunmore County), Virginia, seems to have been one of the very strong centers of Lutheranism in the Virginia Valley.

3. Harrisonburg is the county seat of Rockingham County.

4. The Mountains refer to the Shenandoah range which divides Augusta County and Bath County.

5. Augusta County lies in the central part of the Shenandoah Valley. Staunton is the county seat.

6. Bath County lies between the Shenandoah and the Allegheny range of mountains. It is noted for its many mineral springs.

7. Warm Springs is the county seat of Bath County.

8. Jackson river flows along the western side of Bath County.

9. The high mountain is the Allegheny Range, separating Bath County from Greenbrier County. The latter is now in West Virginia.

10. Greenbrier County is traversed by the river of the same name.

11. Lewisburg is the county seat of Greenbrier County.

12. Rev. George Daniel Flohr was born in Germany, in 1759. In 1793 he is found studying Medicine with his uncle in Paris.

Here he saw the appalling scenes of the French Revolution and mingled in the crowd that witnessed the execution of Louis XVI. On this occasion the accidental but terrible death of an individual in the crowd affected him most deeply and led to a complete change in the plans and purposes of his life.

Giving up the idea of entering the medical profession, he shortly after migrated to the United States and began the study of theology in Madison County, Virginia, under the Rev. William Carpenter. Before he was licensed to preach, he taught school for a season. His first ministerial labors were in the missionary service in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

In 1799 he accepted a call in Wythe County, Virginia, where he labored with great diligence for many years. His congregations were widely separated, one of them being forty-seven miles from his home.

In what was then the frontier section of Virginia, Pastor Flohr not only acted as minister, but frequently had to be lawyer, jury, and judge in the adjustment of neighborhood difficulties.

He died in 1826, in his sixty-seventh year.

13. The reader cannot help but see how partial Rev. Henkel is toward the German language. He is truly representative of an ultra type, altogether too common, who stubbornly persisted in adhering to the German language when the youth were steadily acquiring the English. The language question has been the source of more injury to the influence of Lutheranism in America than any other. It has swept the youth out of the church by the tens of thousands.

14. The word omitted is evidently "thanks."

15. Podagra, the poetic name for gout.

16. Misspelled name of *Gallia*.

17. The name Rausch is yet a familiar name in the counties of Meigs and Gallia, in Ohio, and Mason County, W. Va. They came to this section from the Shenandoah County, where there was a large family of boys, many of whom saw service in the Revolutionary War. It is difficult to locate the different places at which Pastor Henkel preached. One of them was evidently at Cheshire, Gallia County, where there was originally quite a settlement of Germans.

18. Malarial fever.

19. The Rev. William Forster (Foster) was one of the best known of Ohio Lutheran pioneer missionaries. Of course he was a German, educated in the orphanage at Halle. In 1798 he made application for license to preach from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. He came to Ohio from Virginia in 1805 or 1806, settling at Lancaster. He had come to this state it seems through the representations of Rev. Father Stauch, who had made a visit in the German settlement about Lancaster. Father Stauch preached a few times, baptized a few children, collected all the names of Lutherans obtainable and sent them to Foster. The scene of Foster's activities was in what is now the counties of Ross, Pickaway, Fairfield, Muskingum and Perry.

In the latter county (1805) he organized the first Lutheran congregation in Ohio, at New Reading. A few months later in 1806 he established the Zion congregation in what is now Thorn township, that county.

After remaining about two years he returned to Virginia only to bring his family (fifteen children) with him. Purchasing a large tract of land where Thornville now stands, he devoted the remainder of his life to upbuilding the congregations he had established. Steps were taken to erect a two-story log church for the Zion congregation. From a history of this pioneer church, written by Rev. A. Beck, the present pastor, we quote the following:

"It stood in the southwest corner of the cemetery, and was about 34 x 36 and about 18 feet high.

This building had two entrances, one on the southeast side for the women and the other on the northeast side for the men. The pulpit was to the northwest. From the ladies' entrance there was an aisle leading direct to the altar. The younger women occupied the seats to the right and left of this aisle. At the sides of the pulpit the seats stood lengthwise. The older women occupied those to the right. The church officers occupied the first seats on the left, and those in the rear of them were occupied by the older men. At the men's entrance, immediately to the left, was the stairway to the gallery. This gallery was on three sides of the building. This was occupied by the younger men and the choir. The stove stood nearly in the center, or at the end of the aisle of the ladies' entrance.

At first it had no floor nor pews. The worshippers sat on the sleepers with their feet on the ground, while a carpenter's work-bench

served as the pulpit. The church was completed and furnished as fast as means permitted, and was dedicated about 1820. A school house, teachers' residence and a stable had also been built on the ground at this early date."

Rev. Foster continued in the service of pastor and missionary in that section of the state until his death, which occurred July 11, 1815, at the age of, sixty. It is said he met his death as the result of a fall from his horse. He is buried in the Foster Cemetery, not far from where he established his first congregation. Many of his descendants are living in the same vicinity yet.

20. Gallipolis.

21. The road taken by Rev. Henkel was no doubt the one provided for in 1804, to connect Gallipolis and Chillicothe by way of Jackson.

22. The salt springs, of course, refer to the celebrated ones located where Jackson, Ohio, now stands. The springs were so abundant that the national government made a reservation of the land for the exclusive purpose of manufacturing salt. The Indians had previously utilized the brine as did the forest animals. It was the most celebrated salt-lick in the state. When Pastor Henkel passed through the region, salt boiling was at its height.

23. The Moffetts located where Richmond Dale, Ross County, now stands. A large grist mill had been erected by them in the first decade of the Nineteenth Century. They had come from North Carolina in 1798.

24. Brush Creek Township, situated on the headwaters of the stream by that name, which flows into the Ohio river, is in the southeastern corner of Highland County.

25. The "Road to Kentucky," of course, refers to Zane's Trace, which had been blazed from Wheeling to Maysville, by way of Chillicothe in 1796-7. Pastor Henkel followed this road, which passes through Brush Creek Township, on its way to the Ohio.

26. One can not help but notice the strong sectarianism prevailing in several parts of the Journal. One might wish that Pastor Henkel had not delivered himself of these little prejudices, but they certainly picture the religious feeling of the times when men's sectarian feelings often outweighed their religion.

27. New Market was the county-seat of Highland County from the organization of the county in 1805 until 1807, when it was removed to Hillsboro. The first settlement in the county was made in the vicinity of New Market in 1801. This village is located south of Hillsboro on the Norfolk and Western Railroad, and received its name from New Market in the Shenandoah Valley. A census taken of New Market in 1807, and found in a History of Highland County, contains many of the names mentioned by Pastor Henkel.

28. The Virginia Military Lands lying between the Scioto and

Little Miami Rivers would naturally be settled by emigrants from Virginia.

29. Rev. Christian Streit was of Swiss descent, born in the state of New Jersey in 1749. He graduated at the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, in 1768. He pursued his theological studies under the direction of Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, and was licensed to preach by the Synod of Pennsylvania in 1769.

The ten succeeding years he was in charge of a Lutheran Church in eastern Pennsylvania. During the Revolutionary War, Rev. Streit served for a time as Chaplain in the Third Virginia Regiment. Later he became the pastor of a congregation in Charleston, South Carolina, (The St. John's, 1778-1782). When that city was sacked by the British, he was taken prisoner but was soon liberated by exchange.

Returning to Pennsylvania, he took charge of the congregation at New Hanover until his removal to Winchester, Pa., where he served numerous congregations within a radius of fifty miles. In this work he was a sort of Bishop in that he directed the establishment of numerous congregations throughout that whole region. He labored in this field for twenty-seven years with great success. His influence in this section of Virginia was wide-spread, both as a pastor and a teacher.

For some time he was closely connected with the Presbyterian Female Academy, in Winchester. This institution was well patronized by the best people in the Valley. He was a preacher of power and was passionately fond of music. In the absence of an organist he frequently performed on the organ and conducted the singing.

He was a mechanic of no mean parts, for he actually constructed an organ for the use of one of his congregations.

He died in 1812.

30. The "marshy bottom" referred to was undoubtedly the headwaters of the East Fork of the Little Miami. Pastor Henkel reached the Little Miami in the neighborhood of Morrow. The accuracy with which he computed his distances from place to place is very marked throughout the Journal.

31. At a meeting of Synod in Lancaster, Pa., April 30, 1798, "A petition was received from six congregations in North Carolina, asking that Jacob Christman, from their vicinity, be ordained as their minister." He was examined and having rendered satisfaction, was ordained in the evening of the first of May. He is the man alluded to by Rev. Larose in his Autobiography to which the reader is referred. Dr. Jas. I. Good, the author from whom I quote above, further says: "He (Christman) is reputed to have been the first German Reformed minister in Ohio. He died in 1810, aged 65 years." Rev. Dr. D. Van Horne tells me "that on a farm about two miles out of Springboro, Ohio, tradition says Rev. Jacob Christman was buried. Nothing marks the spot but several trees which are allowed to stand." It is not certain,

it seems, that this is the spot of his burial. The Springboro church has erected a modest little monument in their cemetery to their pastor of so many years ago.

—GEORGE F. BAREIS.

32. "John Jacob Larose was the son of Lewis and Kunigunda Larose, his father was descended from a French family of noble birth, and his mother's maiden name was Schadin. They were members of the Reformed church, and were compelled to leave France in consequence of religious intolerance and persecution. They came to America some time previous to 1740 and settled in Macungie Township, Lehigh County, Pa. Here John Jacob was born early in February, 1755. His childhood and youth were spent with his parents on a farm. Subsequently he learned the tailoring business and for some time worked at his trade.

Late in the fall of 1776, he enlisted in the Revolutionary Army. He was in the battle of Trenton December 26, 1776, and assisted in capturing the Hessians. He served his army faithfully and patriotically for six months, returning home in the spring of 1777. During the summer of the same year he went South and located in Guilford County, North Carolina. Here, while working at his trade, he paid special attention to religious reading and meditation. In the year 1780, he was joined in marriage with Miss Barbara Gifft, or Gift, by whom he had eight children, five sons and three daughters.

About this time (1780) he became deeply impressed that he ought to preach the Gospel of the grace of God. He commenced a course of private reading, and as there was no Reformed pastor stationed there at the time, he would occasionally converse with and recite to a Presbyterian minister, who encouraged him in his effort to qualify himself for the sacred office and work of the ministry. He pursued his studies in this private way for several years, and as he had opportunity, exercised and improved his gift by occasionally speaking in public. In the absence of a Reformed Ecclesiastical Judicatory, he was examined and licensed to preach by ministers of the Presbyterian church. The time when this took place is not definitely known, but must have been somewhere between 1784 and 1790. It is known that in 1784 he visited his home in Pennsylvania to receive his patrimony, his father having died. He purchased some books in Philadelphia on his way back to North Carolina, and soon after preached to some congregations in Guilford County, more or less fully organized, until his removal to Ohio.

About the 25th of September, 1804, he started with his family from North Carolina with a four-horse team, and after being six weeks on the way and traveling 700 miles, he arrived safely on the 4th of November, in Miami Township, Montgomery County, Ohio, and settled there on a section of land previously "entered" by him. In 1805 he commenced preaching in private houses, forming organizations, such as St. John's, Stettler's, Twin Creek and others. In 1812 he removed to

Highland County, Ohio, and served a charge composed of Brush Creek, New Market, and Rocky Ford, for three years. While here his wife died on Whitsunday, 1813, and was buried in the graveyard at Brush Creek. In 1816, having broken up housekeeping, he made his home with his son-in-law, Mr. Em. Gebbart, one mile southeast of Miamisburg, Ohio, where he remained for the next two years, preaching irregularly to a few congregations. During the next five years he resided with his children in the vicinity of Eaton, Preble County, Ohio. While here he preached for a longer or shorter period to the following congregations, viz.: Zion's, Jacob's, and Tom's Run, Preble County, and Stettler's in Montgomery, Ohio. He preached for many years simply as a licentiate, perhaps for want of opportunity to become clothed with the full power and functions of the ministry. Finally, however, he was regularly ordained May 22, 1821, at Canton, Ohio. At the same time he was advised to visit the vacant congregations in Columbiana County, Ohio, and advised, if called by them, to accept. During the months of August and September, 1822, he made a missionary tour to the states of Indiana and Kentucky. In 1826 he made his home permanently with Mr. Em. Gebbart; henceforth he preached only occasionally, and in 1830 he became superannuated and quit preaching altogether. The next fifteen years he spent in retirement, devoting himself to religious reading, meditation and prayer. The last few years of his life were marked by a "second childhood" as he did not appear to recognize clearly either persons or things around him. He died November 17, 1845, aged ninety years, nine months. His remains rest in the graveyard at Miamisburg, Ohio. He was a man of irreproachable character, an humble, devoted and faithful Christian."

—GEORGE F. BAREIS.

33. Rev. John George Schmucker, D. D., was born in Michaelstadt in the Duchy of Darmstadt, Germany, on the 18th of August, 1771. His father migrated to this country in 1785, settling first in Pennsylvania and later moving to the vicinity of Woodstock, Virginia, where he made his permanent home.

Under the influence of a lay member of the Baptist Church, he formed a purpose to devote himself to the ministry. He studied under Rev. Paul Henkel, whom he frequently accompanied on his missionary tours. Later, he continued his studies in Philadelphia, and in 1792 became a member of the Synod of Pennsylvania. His first charge was in York County, that state, from where he accepted a call to Hagerstown, Maryland. He was still a young man and earned for himself the cognomen of boy preacher.

In 1809 he returned to York, Pa., and there continued throughout a successful period of twenty-six years, ceasing his work only with the oncoming of the infirmities of age.

Dr. Schmucker was a man high in the councils of his church, hold-

ing many official positions therein. In the midst of his other duties he found time to write a number of publications, no less than seven different ones being to his credit.

He died on the 7th of October, 1854, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

34. Clear Creek flows from the east in the northern part of Warren County, into the Great Miami at Franklin. Franklin Township, the scene of Pastor Henkel's labors, is in the northwest corner of the county.

35. Rev. Christopher Emanuel Schultze was born in Brobstrell, Saxony, January 25th, 1740. After passing through the usual course of elementary instruction, he entered the Frederick College, at Halle. Later he entered the Orphan House for the purpose of qualifying himself for the Christian ministry.

In the summer of 1765 he was ordained and was immediately sent to America, where he arrived in Philadelphia in October of that year. His first duties were as Assistant Pastor to Dr. Muhlenberg. His work was arduous, but he found time to help organize a new congregation.

During the Revolutionary War, his church edifice was used as a hospital. When Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, Congress repaired in a body to his church, where they commemorated the event with thanksgiving.

In 1774 he received and accepted a call to the Church in Tulpehocken. Here he labored for thirty-eight years.

Mr. Schultze's wife was the daughter of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. He died March 9, 1809, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

36. Pastor A. S. Mann settled in the vicinity of Germantown but was not acceptable to the people as a preacher and settled down to the vocation of a school teacher. He did not, however, lay down the office of the ministry. In 1818 he participated in the organization of the Joint Synod of Ohio.

37. The Congregation of Shakers evidently refers to the community at Union Village which was begun in 1805.

38. Twin Creek is a stream flowing from the northwest, through the southwest corner of Montgomery County. Germantown, in German Township, is located on this stream and it was here that Pastor Henkel completed his missionary journey to Ohio. Philip Gunckle had built a saw and grist mill and opened a store at this place. In 1814 he laid out the town. His name heads the list of German householders, given to Pastor Henkel in 1806.

39. This preaching was done in Washington Township in the southeastern corner of Montgomery County, as it appears from the list of names appended at the close of the Journal.

40.

Lord Jesus, fill with truth the heart
Of all our children's children,
Thy Word with power to all impart
Revive those dead in sinning.
Call back those erring from thy fold
Give life to those whose hearts are cold,
Bring all to Thy green pastures.

The tune is: "Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit."

The author is unknown.

41. The return journey of Pastor Henkel was not entirely along the same route as he had gone. He seems to have taken a more direct course from Warren County to Chillicothe. That the road was new to him is evident from the text. His mention of passing through the community of the Quakers leads to the conclusion that his journey lay through Clinton County, no doubt following the old road which later became the Lebanon-Chillicothe Pike.

42. In the Great Kentucky Revival of 1800, among the physical phenomena accompanying this frenzy of religious zeal was the "Jerks." The muscles of the body would twitch, thus jerking the various parts much as in St. Vitus Dance. This revival and its various manifestations spread into the Ohio Country and it is not strange that Pastor Henkel should encounter it. J. P. McLean, in Volume XII of the Ohio Historical Quarterlies, has given a full account of this wonderful Kentucky Revival and its various accompaniments.

43. This refers to the Cow Pasture River, which rises in Augusta County, Virginia, and forms one of the tributaries of the James.

44. Point Pleasant evidently was not a very propitious place for missionary work. Other ministers found it as difficult to interest the people as did Pastor Henkel. In fact there was a tradition that a curse rested upon the town because of the murder of Chief Cornstalk in 1777. The curse, so it was claimed by the superstitious, would rest upon the town for one hundred years. Not until the Methodists, about 1835, succeeded in building a congregation, was a permanent church established.

45. Graham Station is now a village of one hundred in Mason County, West Virginia. It was named for the Rev. William Graham, a Presbyterian minister, who founded the place about 1798. He had been the head of Liberty Hall Academy in the East for quite a number of years. The settlement was made on a large tract of 6,000 acres known as the Poulson tract, which had been surveyed by George Washington in 1770. A Lutheran church was organized there by Rev. Henkel and it continues there.

46. The Ebersohls and Blooms came to New Market in 1800. The Wilkins came from Shenandoah County, Virginia, October, 1802, and settled two miles south of New Market.

Michael Straub was the hatter of the town. He arrived late in the fall of 1801, a wearied traveler. On his head he carried an 18 gallon copper kettle, on his back, a pack of tools and in his hands, a quantity of wool. He was compelled to ride to Kentucky for his wool, but he soon had a thriving business. Anthony Straub was his brother.

In March, 1803, Michael Straub was married to Miss Polly Walker, who had emigrated to the falls of Paint with her stepfather and mother four years before, and to New Market in the spring of 1801. The ceremony was performed by Squire Oliver Ross. The bride was dressed in a fine light figured calico, which cost one dollar a yard, wore a plain cap on her head, white silk gloves, white collar, etc. The groom was dressed in brown dress-coat and pants, white Marseilles vest, white socks, low shoes and white kid gloves. The ceremony, as performed by the old squire, was an unique one, and deserves a place in this connection; we therefore copy it as given in Scott's history of Highland County:

"Well," said the squire in his peculiar Irish style, "we have met today til join tilgither in holy matrimony, Michael Straub and Polly Walker—as respectable a couple as iver the Lord brought tilgither. Now I do hope that not one of you will ha any objection to their gettin' married. I think there will be no objection—join your right hands. Will, Mr. Mike, will you take Miss Polly, whom you hold by the right hand—and as good-looking and virtuous a young woman as iver the Virgin Mary was—to be your lawfully wedded wife? Do you promise to forsake all others (now by the Lord, Mike, you must quit running after the other girls and cleave to her alone, will ye Mike?)—yes—yes," says the groom. "Oh! by —, yes! Will, Miss Polly, will you take Mike, whom you hold by the right hand, to be your lawfully wedded husband (he is worthy, for he is as sprightly a young man as iver wore a pair o' buckskin broikns), you promise to forsake all others (but what the deil's the use to make a woman promise that, when you know they won't keep their promise, but I think you are an exception), you will cleave to him til it please the Lord to Separate you by death, will you, Polly? I know you will—yes—then I pronounce you man and wife—no more two—but one. The Lord bless you. Now go home and raise your children for the Lord. The Lord bless you, ha, ha, ha; take your seats now, ha—the Lord bless you."

After the ceremony, the afternoon was passed in dancing and other amusements.

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E. O. Randall

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"HISTORY OF JEROME TOWNSHIP, UNION COUNTY, OHIO."

In this interesting addition to the local history of Ohio, the author, Colonel W. L. Curry, has preserved the facts and traditions in the life of a typical American community. He has given to the third generation from the pioneer a thrilling account of Indian warfare and interesting stories of that period of settlement. The record will be invaluable to the historian of the future. It presents with vivid detail the life, trials and hardships of the early settlers, all of which will be of intense interest to this generation. Especially will it be instructive and valuable to the descendants of those hardy pioneers of Jerome Township.

The first settlers in this locality were Joshua and James Ewing, two brothers. They settled in this territory in 1798 and erected the first cabin on the west bank of Darby Creek, about one mile north of Plain City. This was the first cabin erected in Union County. Lucas Sullivan had laid out a town near this spot and called it North Liberty, about a year before the Ewings emigrated from Kentucky, but no house had been erected. It appears that the Indians were very numerous along Darby Creek and were unwilling to leave their favorite "hunting grounds" for the white man's settlement. James Ewing established the first store in Union County, at his farm in Jerome Township, and was appointed the first postmaster.

Soon after the Ewings arrived in Union County, other settlers followed, prominent among whom were the Taylors, Robinsons, Mitchells, Kents, Currys, Cones, McCulloughs, Bucks, Probins, Notemans, McCunes, Sagers, Shovers, McClungs, and Connors. The majority of these came from the colonies of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with a sprinkling from the New England States.

The character of this sturdy stock will be appreciated when it is known that there never has been a saloon within the territory of Jerome Township, although it has been settled for more than one hundred years. Another remarkable fact which is recorded in this work is, that no one of the old settlers or their descendants has ever been convicted of a felony.

Many of these pioneers came from Revolutionary ancestry, and a number of old Revolutionary soldiers settled in Union County. Among

these was James Curry, who secured one thousand acres of land in part pay for his services as a Revolutionary soldier. This land pension was for seven years' military service as an officer of the Virginia Continental Line. The author is one of his descendants, and some of the land is still owned by the Curry family.

Jerome Township has a creditable and patriotic military history. Colonel Curry devotes the greater part of this volume to its detail and narration. In addition to its early Revolutionary settlers, it furnished soldiers to the War of 1812, the Mexican, Civil and Spanish-American wars. Few localities in Ohio have so enviable a record of faithful service to our country.

The most notable and valuable portions of this history are those relating to the Civil and Spanish-American wars. Herein is given the official records of every regiment in which Jerome Township soldiers served, with the names of each by companies. It is safe to say that the historical history of Ohio contains no such complete military record of a locality as is furnished in these pages; and no one is better qualified for the work of patient research and recording than Colonel Curry. He has established his reputation as a military historian by other historical works of pronounced originality and value. The military literature of Ohio has been enriched by his pen, as the author of the following works: "War History of Union County, containing a History of the Services of Union County in the War of the Revolution, the War of 1812, the War with Mexico 1846-1847, and the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865," "Four Years in the Saddle, History of the First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, War of the Rebellion 1861-1865," "Raid of the Union Cavalry, Commanded by General Judson Kilpatrick around the Confederate Army at Atlanta, August, 1865," and the "Raid of the Confederate Cavalry through Central Tennessee in October, 1863, Commanded by General Joseph Wheeler." From a literary and historical standpoint Colonel Curry's works are among the first contributions to the Civil War literature of Ohio. In all his writings he displays in a high degree a faculty of historical narrative and a power of perspective in describing events that are essential in writing military history.

Colonel Curry's writings gain additional value from the fact that he was a participant in the scenes which he describes, serving in the First Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and concerning the events which he writes it can be said that he truthfully records "all of which he saw and part of which he was."

"VIRGINIA UNDER THE STUARTS."

This work, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Ph. D., recently published by the Princeton University Press (\$1.50), is an exhaustive and scholarly, as well as an interesting, history of England's first colony in America. Beginning with the organization of the London Company and the charter

granted by James I. in 1606, giving it the right to found a settlement in Virginia, Dr. Wertenbaker follows the adventures of the fast-growing colony through the reigns of James I., Charles I., Charles II., and James II., through the Commonwealth and the Restoration, and concludes with the accession to the throne of William and Mary in 1688. The numerous hardships of the colonists, their political and economic fortunes and the contest between loyalists and liberals all are faithfully portrayed. Dr. Wertenbaker dwells particularly on the political growth and disturbances, but gives interesting little incidents and quotations which make the book more readable and prevent it from becoming dry even to the casual reader. A most complete bibliography has been prepared, showing that the author has with difficulty, but with careful discrimination, gone directly to the original sources to obtain his material, and has succeeded in presenting the subject fairly in spite of the highly prejudiced reports of the time.

As three little ships brought the adventurous band of Spanish explorers to America with Christopher Columbus in 1492, so did three little ships bring to our shores the no less adventurous English colonists in 1607 under Captain Christopher Newport. The best and most loyal blood in England was represented in this venture, and their lofty purpose was to extend the English domain and the English religion and increase British trade. Little did they suspect the disasters this colony would at last bring to England.

After the founding of the historic settlement at Jamestown, and the establishment of the government by Council under the King's command, the colonists began to undergo hitherto undreamed-of hardships. As Dr. Wertenbaker says, "Thus was the immigrant to Virginia beset on all sides with deadly perils. If he escaped the plague, the yellow fever and the scurvy during his voyage across the Atlantic, he was more than apt to fall a victim to malaria or dysentery after he reached his new home. Even if he survived all these dangers, he might perish miserably of hunger, or be butchered by the savage Indians. No wonder he cursed the country, calling it 'a miserie, a ruine, a death, a hell.'" At one time the famine was so extensive that they killed and ate the Indians, and one man even killed and ate his wife, "for which hee was executed, as hee well deserved."

When the settlers became acclimated to the new country, the terrible "sicknesse" decreased, and the warfare with the Indians ceased for a time after John Rolfe's marriage to Pocahontas. With the introduction of the use of tobacco into England the material welfare of Virginia rapidly increased and immigration to the new country became popular.

The early contest between the Company in its effort to realize its ideal—that of making a liberal stronghold of the colony,—and the King, who wished Virginia to be a royal colony and the nucleus of a colonial empire, is described at length. The contention that American colonists should have the same rights as native Englishmen was forwarded in the

earliest colonial period, making the character of the Virginians apparent, as well as the deep-rooted claims causing the Revolution more than a century later.

After a long contest and many delays, representative government became a reality in Virginia when the first General Assembly, composed of Burgesses elected by the freemen of the colony, convened at Jamestown, August 9, 1619. This Assembly was a truly representative body, and had important legislative powers, — notably the control of taxation in Virginia, a right which they never relinquished.

But misfortunes again attacked the colony in the form of the "sickness" and, in 1622, the widespread massacre by the Indians. This war with the Indians is one page in American history which is unmarred by the treachery of the whites. Since the time of the treaty in 1615, the savages and the white men had been on the friendliest terms, but suddenly and without warning, the Indians, led by Opechacenough, executed one of the most cruel and repulsive series of murders in American history. Three hundred and fifty-seven people were killed in one night. Not until the resulting war did the colonists begin to fight them with their own weapons of craft, treachery, and cruelty.

Basing his actions on these frightful conditions in the colony, but really on account of his jealousy of the London Company and their liberal government in Virginia, James I., after a series of parliamentary and legal proceedings, in 1624 succeeded in eliminating the Company and making Virginia a royal colony. From this time until the Revolution Virginia was governed by royal officials of widely varying merits. One of the first, Sir John Harvey, was also one of the worst. His tyrannical efforts to overthrow the people's power resulted in his expulsion by the Council. During this time plots and intrigues concerning the government of the colony were numerous both in Virginia and in England, and misunderstandings between the King and the colony were common.

In 1642 one of the leading governors came into power, Sir William Berkeley. His administration is noted as being important and turbulent as the Puritan Revolution occurred at this time. In spite of the class of small farmers and freedmen who favored the Parliamentary party, Governor Berkeley and the wealthy planters kept the colony staunchly royalist until the Commonwealth sent an expedition to demand a surrender and arrange a compromise. For eight years Virginia was practically a republic, all the power being in the hands of the Assembly, and the governor and other officials being elected by the people. Just before the restoration of Charles II. to the throne, the Assembly showed its foresight by electing as its executive the former royal governor, Sir William Berkeley. The bid for royal favor thus made was sadly disappointing. Charles was utterly indifferent to the welfare of the colonists, as was shown in his approval of the Navigation Acts, which fatally crippled Virginia's trade, and his gift of the colony to his favorites. These

injustices, combined with the unfair and oppressive policy of Governor Berkeley, and his failure to quell the Indian uprisings led at last to the rebellion of the downtrodden planters under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, a descendant of Lord Bacon. Bacon led the planters successfully against the Indians and protected the frontiers, then drove out Berkeley and remained master of Virginia until his death a few months later, when Berkeley once more assumed control. Then occurred a systematic and wholesale persecution of the rebels, which lasted, contrary to the King's commands, until Berkeley was recalled to England.

Affairs in Virginia were becoming more and more confused. The people no longer supported the King and his royal governor, but contested for their own rights and privileges. This feeling became stronger with the efforts of Charles II. and James II. to curb their independence and bring them more closely under royal control. The House of Burgesses showed itself ready to protest to the King himself rather than obey his unwise commands, and the Burghers and rich planters, descendants of English aristocracy though they were, refused to give up any of the people's privileges. During Lord Howard's administration many of the powers of the House were curtailed, but their political experience was deeply extended. The revolution of 1688 and the accession to the throne of the Protestant rulers, William and Mary, were joyfully welcomed by the colony. The liberal policies and consideration for colonial affairs adopted by these rulers were continued to the great advantage of Virginia until George III's attempts to encroach upon the American colonists' rights established during this period resulted in the Revolution a century later.

We can recommend this work as one of the most valuable contributions to American history, and it may be regarded as a conclusive and authoritative source for the student of history and politics of this period of colonial days.

WOMEN OF OHIO.

Ohio historians and writers, numerous and brilliant though their works have been, have for the most part neglected a fertile field of interesting and important material—that of the work of the women of Ohio. Many well-known names and influential characters are enrolled in the list of Ohio's daughters, adopted as well as native, and their lives and experiences make a fascinating study which the body of Ohio citizens should be made familiar with, especially in these days when the women are awakening to new interest in themselves and in their State.

In the early frontier days, great women, strong and hardy pioneers, marched shoulder to shoulder with their adventurous husbands, sharing all the labors, hardships and dangers, and helping to snatch a home

from the perils of the wilderness. Ohio was founded as surely on the strength and fortitude of her women as on the bravery of her men. Some of these names worthy to be recorded in the history of women as well as in the history of Ohio are seldom noticed now, while others are well known, but all should be part of the household lore of the State.

In the earliest pioneer days we meet Elizabeth Kenton, the wife General Simon Kenton, strong, patient, a typical pioneer. A true heroine of the time was "Mad Ann" Bailey, who saved the fort on the Great Kanawha, where Charleston now is, by riding alone to Camp Union, one hundred miles away and returning with ammunition, enabling the garrison to repel the attack of the Indians. Mrs. Bailey is as picturesque a figure as can be found in the history of the State. Her peculiar characteristics, her masculine attributes, and her intrepid bravery command our interest. One of her typical actions was to invariably join the militia when they were mustered, and to march in the ranks armed as a soldier.

And what more romantic story than that of Louisa St. Clair, the daughter of General Arthur St. Clair, a charming and cultured girl with the daring and recklessness of a true soldier's daughter. In 1788, at a time when the relations with the Indians were most critical, Governor St. Clair sent a ranger with a message to the Indian leader, a son of the great Joseph Brant. Louisa St. Clair overtook the messenger and persuaded him to let her take the letter to Brant, whom she had known when he was at college. Her bravery and audacity captivated the young chieftain, and he escorted her back to the fort. Later he appeared to ask Governor St. Clair for his daughter's hand, and on being refused retired to lead his warriors later at the disastrous battle resulting in St. Clair's defeat. Is a more fascinating incident related in fiction than this legend of the St. Clairs?

No less interesting are the adventures among the Indians of Mary Heckewelder, the first white child born in Ohio, and daughter of the Rev. John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary. Such stories and such brave women are not infrequent in the early history of our State, but they are too little recognized.

Two movements of the greatest importance to the later welfare of the State were begun by women of this time. Mrs. Andrew Lake in 1789 started a Sunday school in her own home at Marietta, because she "took compassion on the children of the garrison, who were spending the Sabbath afternoon in frivolous amusements." In 1790 the first school for white children in Ohio was held at Belpre by Miss Bathsheba Rouse.

Ohio women were not lacking to show their bravery in the War of 1812. Sarah Sibley, wife of Judge Solomon Sibley, was in Detroit during the attack by, and surrender to, the British, and has given interesting accounts of that trying time. Rebecca Heald experienced the horror of the massacre at Fort Dearborn, Chicago, with her husband, Captain Heald, commandant of the Fort.

But in later times, Ohio has sent forth women just as strong in a different way and as interesting. An Ohio woman, Delia S. Bacon, in 1811 first advanced what is now called the Baconian theory concerning the authenticity of Shakespeare's authorship. The renowned "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was written by Harriet Beecher Stowe in Cincinnati. Mrs. Mary A. Bickerdyke, of Ohio, was one of the most conspicuous and best-loved of the army of nurses on the field during the Civil War.

The well-beloved poets, Alice and Phoebe Cary, were born near Cincinnati, and Alice Cary was the president of the first organized woman's club. The world-wide movement embodied in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was originated in Hillsboro, Ohio, by Mrs. Thompson, daughter of Governor Trimble, and a woman affectionately called Mother Stewart.

Ohio women have taken a part as well in the history of art. Mrs. Bellamy Storer, of Cincinnati, founded one of the most renowned of America's art factories, the Rookwood Pottery, and invented the process herself. In other lines, the names of Susan Coolidge, Sarah K. Bolton, Sarah Piatt, Dr. Mary Wood Allen, Julia Marlowe, Clara Morris, Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler, Julia Rive-King and Frances E. Willard are all famous, but they are not all recognized as being Ohio's daughters. And these are only a few, taken casually from the roll of Ohio women, who have been leaders in every line. Ohio is not only the "Mother of Presidents" and brilliant men, but of noble and illustrious women. Let her authors and citizens realize it and claim these other names among her jewels.

"SEMI-CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF WEST VIRGINIA."

To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the statehood of West Virginia in 1912, the Semi-Centennial Commission decided that a history of the state would be a fitting and permanent tribute. The work was put into the hands of James Morton Callahan, professor of history and political science in the West Virginia University. As author of the historical sketch and editor of the various special articles on the development and resources of the state, all credit is due Professor Callahan for the comprehensive volume just published by the Commission.

Professor Callahan's own part of the work,—a history of the state in all its phases, comprised in fourteen chapters,—is a masterly condensation of a wide range of facts and incidents. Dealing first with the geographical conditions of West Virginia, Professor Callahan lays the foundation for the subsequent social, economic, and industrial opportunities.

The early history of West Virginia is closely allied with that of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky. The early life and vigor of all these states were furnished by the same bold army of pioneers, "the rear guard of the Revolution and the advance guard of the Re-

public," as Professor Callahan calls them. Their life and hardships are here portrayed, and the long forgotten names of these settlers and their first villages are preserved here. Owing to the condensation necessary to a history of this type, this romantic and interesting period of the country's development has been shortened into practically a list of pioneers, settlements, and dates.

The early efforts for industrial development are treated at length, giving a permanent record of the early disappointments and failures, and the final triumph of the first steamboat on the Kanawha river in 1819, and the completion of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in 1852. This opening of the country to transportation and commerce resulted in a boom to industry. Towns and cities developed. The early growth of such cities as Morgantown, Clarksburg, Weston, and Wheeling will be of peculiar interest to the present resident of these localities.

But the critical period of West Virginia history comes with the approach of the Civil War. Professor Callahan traces painstakingly the deep-rooted causes of the break between West Virginia and her mother state. The physical differences of the two states, their contrasting industries, western Virginia's small number of slaves compared with Virginia proper's overwhelming slave population,—all these contributed to the necessity of forming another state of Virginia west of the Alleghenies. In 1863 the final steps were taken and West Virginia entered the Union which her mother state had already deserted.

After the terrors of war were over, the new state began to develop her natural resources rapidly. New railroads helped to open up the country. Agricultural enterprise quickened. Coal mines, gas and oil wells, the timber, brick and glass industries were developed. West Virginia soon won her present high reputation for mineral wealth.

The second part of the volume consists of a number of articles on various phases of the state life contributed by authorities. The means of communication, the varied industries, the political development, and the educational evolution are each forcefully and expertly presented. Frequent photographs of places of historical interest add to the attractiveness of the book. There are also many valuable and important maps showing better than any wordy description certain conditions, physical, industrial, and social. Some are copies of old maps, others were made by Professor Callahan himself. Most of the pictures were furnished by the West Virginia Geological Survey. A very complete bibliography of the author's sources and authorities is added which will prove particularly useful to students.

The whole work is a veritable storehouse of facts which must be preserved to nourish that state pride and loyalty so necessary to all successful countries. This loyalty and patriotism already breathes from every page in the volume, and shows the fibre of the men who labored so earnestly to produce it.

ARNOLD HENRY DOHRMAN.*

BY A. J. MORRISON, TOLEDO.

The following extracts¹ will explain themselves and will serve to throw light upon the circumstances of the grant, by the Old Congress to Arnold Henry Dohrman, of a township in the southeastern part of Tuscarawas County.

1780.

I. Report of Committee of Foreign Affairs, June 21, 1780; to whom was referred a letter of 23rd May from Mr. P. Henry, late governor of Virginia, to-wit: [Arnold Henry Dohrman] "hath expended large sums of money in carrying into practice schemes projected by him for assisting the United States with clothing and warlike stores, as well as in supplying great numbers of American prisoners, carried into the ports of the Kingdom of Portugal, with money and all other necessities for their comfortable subsistence while there." On recommendation of Committee, Arnold Henry Dohrman appointed agent for the United States, in the Kingdom of Portugal, without salary.

A letter to Mr. Dohrman from John Adams, dated May 16, 1780: "You will please to accept of my thanks as an individual who feels himself obliged to every gentleman, of whatever country, who is good enough to assist his fellow countrymen."

A letter from Thomas Jefferson, dated May 24, 1780: "The

* cf. Gouverneur Morris to John Parish (merchant in Hamburg), Feb. 16, 1802---

"Poor Door-Mans! for so his name ought to be spelled, perhaps, after the history you have given. He had from the beginning an untoward mission, and neither nature nor education had given him the art of pleasing, so essential to that trade."

[Sparks, *Life and Correspondence of Gouverneur Morris*, III, 159.]

¹ Drawn from Vol. XIX (Claims), *American State Papers*, pp. 508-514.

many kindnesses which you have shown to our captive countrymen, whom the fortune of war has carried within the reach of your inquiries, do great honor to your humanity, and must forever interest us in your welfare."

A letter from Patrick Henry, late governor of Virginia, under date December 12, 1780: "As an American, I thank you, sir; and as a lover of those virtues that adorn our nature, I congratulate myself to see it thus rescued from the general charge of degeneracy * * * I took the liberty to mention you to Congress."

1785-1787.

2. Address of Archibald Cary, "as speaker of the honorable body, the Senate of my country," to Arnold Henry Dohrman, appearing before the Senate of Virginia January 1, 1785: "Your conduct in respect to our unhappy countrymen (as well as to others of our sister states) carried prisoners into Lisbon."

A letter from General Washington:

MOUNT VERNON, July 9, 1785.

"To the Hon. Samuel Chase.

"I take the liberty of introducing Mr. Dohrman to your friendly notice and civilities. He is represented to me as a gentleman of great merit, and one who, at an early period of the war (when our affairs were rather overshadowed) advanced his money very liberally to support our suffering countrymen.

"He has some matter to submit to Congress, which he can explain better than I. I am persuaded he will offer nothing which is inconsistent with the strictest rules of propriety, and of course, that it will merit your patronage."

Memorial of Arnold Henry Dohrman, presented to Congress July 19, 1786: "That your memorialist (by birth a subject of the Netherlands) was, at the commencement of the late war between the United States and Great Britain, a resident of Lisbon, in the Kingdom of Portugal, possessed of handsome property and in full credit as a merchant * * * That having imbibed from early life a strong attachment to the principles of liberty, he saw with anxious and affectionate concern the first efforts of this country to defend and secure the rights of human nature; and carried along by a desire to espouse its cause unsolicited, and

without hope or expectation of reward, at a period, too, when European prejudices and opinions wished and predicted the ruin of that cause, he resolved to devote himself to it by the best services his situation would permit. * * * [Such a course] did not consist with the prosperity of his private affairs. The diminution of his funds, the disgusts and fears of his friends on account of the part he took, the critical position in which he for a long time stood with the government [of Portugal] concurred in the ruin of his mercantile credit and interest."

In Congress October 1, 1787: on a Report of the Board of Treasury: to Arnold Henry Dohrman, a reimbursement of \$5,806⁷²/₁₀₀, with interest from time of expenditure. Claim filed for \$20,207 above this amount, but of too general a nature to warrant allowance; vouchers, in the circumstances, often impossible. Hence, grant of salary, retroactive, of \$1600 a year, as agent of the United States at Lisbon, and a township [23,040 acres²] beyond the Ohio.

1813-1817.

3. Letter to a member of Congress from David Hoge, dated Steubenville, January 8, 1817: "I have from time to time made particular inquiries as to the value of the land which Mr. Dohrman received as a donation, and have no hesitation in saying that I consider it as the worst township in the three western ranges of this district³ out of which Mr. Dohrman has the right of selection. He was undoubtedly imposed upon by his agent, who most probably made the selection from a mere inspection of the map, without an actual view of the land.

* * * By what scale can you measure the benevolence of heart that prompted to such generous disinterested humanity as Mr. Dohrman evinced towards our suffering countrymen! By what rule can you estimate the wounded sensibilities of a generous and cultivated mind, reduced from affluence, from having the

² cf. Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*. 1st edition, p. 561.

³ cf. Hunter, "Pathfinders of Jefferson County." *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Publications*, VI, 211 — "David Hoge, of Pennsylvania, was the first Registrar of the Steubenville Land Office, holding the office for forty years from 1800."

power of dispensing bounty and relieving distress, to a state of dependence and want — to need, though he disdained to ask, that charity which he had, in better days, been so prompt to bestow!"

Letter to Rufus King from James Ross,⁴ dated Pittsburg, January 13, 1817: "Mr. Dohrman's meritorious claims were considered and settled by the Old Congress on the 1st of October, 1787, as appears by the journals of that date. You were then a member, and may recollect Mr. Dohrman, who lived long in the city of New York, where his dwelling was twice destroyed by fire. Owing to these and other misfortunes, he was obliged to abandon mercantile pursuits; and as a last resource he removed to the western country, in the hope that he might derive subsistence for his family from the township allotted to him in the seven ranges. Antecedent to his removal hither, he was obliged to mortgage his township to some of his creditors in New York, and this disabled him from making the best of it by subdivision or improvement.

"I had an intimate knowledge of all Mr. Dohrman's affairs ever since he came to the western country. He was in deplorable embarrassment when he reached this place, and, on examination I found that he had undoubtedly selected one of the worst townships in all the ranges. He removed from this place to Steubenville, that he might live at less expense and be nearer to his lands.

"As he had numerous letters showing the high opinion entertained of him by many in the old Government who are still living and in public stations, he was advised to go in person to the City of Washington, and make his condition known, in the hope that as he, in the days of his prosperity and our distress, had never permitted one of our captive seamen to suffer, but his house had been their hospital and their home, we, in our turn, would extend to him a helping hand, to redeem him from the calamities that had overwhelmed him. He prepared to take this journey, and was furnished with means for his expenses, but he sickened and died [in 1813] before the season allotted for leaving home.

"Although he did not live to solicit relief, yet it is earnestly hoped that his family may not be forgotten. Provision may be

⁴James Ross, one of the founders of Steubenville. cf. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, p. 210.

made for them without furnishing any dangerous precedent. Their case is such as can have no parallel."

Act of Congress, approved March 3, 1817, providing annuity of \$300 for life to Rachel Dohrman, relict of Arnold Henry Dohrman, payable quarterly from Dec. 31, 1816; and \$100 to each of her minor children, until the age of twenty-one.



THE OHIO PROSPECTUS FOR THE YEAR 1775.

BY A. J. MORRISON, TOLEDO.

The extended advertisement given below in part,¹ although not strictly applicable to the whole of the territory of Ohio today, is of interest for several reasons. This statement, skilfully colored as it is, brings out very well the idea of the Ohio country as it must have been in many minds at the beginning of the Revolution. The imagination is afforded material — what would have been the result if either the Old Company [Ohio Land Company] or the Walpole Company had accomplished solid things before the Revolution? In the retrospect we can see that there was a Divinity shaping our ends at that time.

And quite apart from the statements here made of fact and fancy — conditions of transportation, the possibility of sending ocean-going vessels down the Ohio, the suggestion of an agricultural experiment station for the Ohio Valley, specifications for an Ohio farmstead — the authorship of this pleasing work is an item of moment, and it is to be regretted that the authorship cannot be fixed with certainty. Sabin did not live long enough to reach the letter Y, and to give his grounds for assigning this "American Husbandry, by an American" to Arthur Young. It is at least probable that Arthur Young was the author. From 1767 to 1776, when he went to Ireland, not a year passed (but one) in which Arthur Young did not publish a work or works on the subject of agriculture. In the bibliographies the year that is missing is 1775. It is hardly to be supposed that Young stopped writing for a year; and it is known that he was interested in America from his first youth, and several times thought of going there. If he wrote himself down "American" on the title page of

¹Drawn from *American Husbandry. Containing an Account of the Soil, Climate, Production, and Agriculture of the British Colonies.* By An American. London, 1775. Vol. II., Chapter, "The Ohio."

his book, it may have been because he was of the American party. He had been a friend of John Wilkes. After the separation of the Colonies Arthur Young is on record as believing that the loss to England "north of tobacco" was a good outcome. The author of *American Husbandry* emphasizes the importance of the tobacco colonies, he spells Bordeaux after the manner of Young in his *Travels in France*, and several of his crop rotations were favorites with Arthur Young.²

On the whole, Sabin's conjecture may be taken as very nearly capable of proof, and it is gratifying to reflect that Arthur Young, of the "Travels in France" (and of how many other good books?), the correspondent of General Washington, gave his attention for a time to The Country of the Belle Riviere.

THE OHIO.

This immense country, which in our maps is laid down as a part of Virginia, reaches from the eastward of lake Erie, on the frontiers of New York, in latitude 43°, to its junction with the Mississippi, in latitude 36½°; the length of this tract, in a straight line, is not less than 800 miles. For 300 miles it bounds on the mountains, which are the limits of Pennsylvania, from which to lake Erie is an oblong of 200 miles long, by about 100 broad, which space is one of the finest parts of North America. But the territory which is here principally to be considered, is to the south of this, from the neighborhood of Fort Pitt, to the Cherokee river,³ which falls into the Ohio, near the Mississippi, to the south of the former river, most of the country to the north of it belonging to the Six Nations, partly inhabited by them, and part their hunting ground.

The want of fresh land in Virginia, for the tobacco plants to spread themselves over, occasioned many settlers to pass the Alligany mountains, and fix themselves on the rivers that fall into the Ohio; this was so early as from 1750 to 1755. The French had in 1748 and 1749 partly usurped and secured all this tract of

²See M. Betham-Edwards, Introduction to Young's *Travels in France* (Bohn's Popular Library, 1913); and *Dictionary of National Biography*, sub. Arthur Young.

³The Tennessee River.

back country, by their forts; a plan which they afterwards brought fully into execution; and when they were informed of the step taken by the British Settlers, they warned them from what they called their master's territory, and soon after by force drove them back. This was the origin of the late war; the events of which relating to this country need no recapitulation here.

Upon the conquest of Fort du Quesne, the back settlers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, renewed their emigration, and in great numbers once more passed the mountains, and settled themselves on the Ohio and its branches. Here they cleared ground and began their plantations; but in the latter end of 1763, a proclamation appeared, which forbid all settlements beyond the rivers, which fall into the Atlantic Ocean. But the people who had fixed themselves on the fertile lands of the Ohio, were too well pleased with their situation to obey this proclamation, while others continued daily to join them.

The territory in which they planted themselves being without the bounds of the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the people who had settled there became soon a lawless set, among whom a licentious spirit prevailed; living without government, they had continued quarrels with the Indians, and the whole aspect of their affairs foreboded no good. The country in which they settled belonged to the Six Nations, who complained repeatedly of this invasion of their property, offering to the governor of Virginia to sell their right in all the country to the south of the river Ohio.

Their remonstrances were too much slighted, for it was several years before any measures were taken to give them satisfaction; from remonstrating they proceeded to threaten in terms severe, though not departing from respect. Then it was that a conference was held with the chiefs of these nations, and a bargain was struck: for the sum of something more than ten thousand pounds paid by the government to the Six Nations, they made over all their right to the tracts of country south of the Ohio.

This purchase was made, not with a view to encourage any settlements beyond the mountains, but only to satisfy the Indians; the tenor of the proclamation of 1763 was adhered to, and the

governor of Virginia ordered to admit of no colonization within the specified limits. But such orders could not be obeyed; for the country was found so fertile and pleasant, that fresh numbers every day thronged thither; and the expediency of establishing a government over them, was found daily greater.

In this situation of affairs it was, that an association of gentlemen, principally of America, formed the plan of establishing a new colony in the lands thus purchased of the Indian; they brought into the idea some respectable merchants of London, at the head of whom was a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Walpole. They petitioned the treasury for leave to execute their plan, offering to pay to government the ten thousand pounds the whole country had cost, for the possession of only a part of it, and to be at the whole expence of the civil government of the new province.

This petition was referred from the treasury to the board of trade, which board made a report upon the petition, in which they strongly condemned the project, offering the reasons on which they founded their opinion; reasons which were by no means satisfactory to the understanding of those who were well acquainted with the state of the colonies.

The affair then came before the Privy Council, in which it was debated, and a difference of opinion found, which occasioned a debate; it ended in the petition being granted; after which Mr. Walpole and his associates took such measures as they thought necessary for the establishment of their new colony.

This is the history of the transaction brought down to the present time;⁴ the latter part is too recent to know upon what terms the proprietors portion out the lands, nor yet are the exact limits known: but the accounts we have had of the country before it was thought of establishing a colony in it, are such as will enable us to form a pretty clear idea of it. In the observations on the report of the board of trade on the petition of Mr. Walpole and his associates, the following circumstances are drawn up.

First, The lands in question are excellent, the climate temperate, the native grapes, silk worms, and mulberry-trees are

⁴ Since this was written, it has been reported that some interruption has happened to the grant.

every where; hemp grows spontaneously in the vallies and low grounds; iron ore is plenty in the hills, and no soil is better adapted for the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

Second, The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; and by which and a short land carriage of *only forty miles*, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even *now*, be sent cheaper to the sea-port town of Alexandria, on the river Potomack, (where General Braddock's transports landed his troops), than any kind of merchandize is at this time sent *from Northampton to London*.

Third, The river Ohio is, at all seasons of the year navigable for large boats like the west country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of January to the month of April large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent laden with *hemp, flax, silk*, etc., to this Kingdom.

Fourth, Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other necessities can be sent down the stream of the Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the islands, much cheaper and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia.

Fifth, Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles, can also be sent *down the stream* of the Ohio to the *sea*, at least 50 per cent. cheaper than these articles were ever carried by a *land-carriage* of only sixty miles in Pennsylvania; — where *waggonage* is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

Sixth, The expence of transporting British manufactures from the sea to the Ohio colony will *not* be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid to a great part of the countries of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland.

That we may more particularly elucidate this important point, we shall take the freedom of observing — that it is *not* disputed, but ever acknowledged, by the very report now under consideration, that the climate and soil of the Ohio are as favorable as we have described them; and as to the native silk-worms — it is a truth, that above 10,000 weight of cocoons was, in August 1771, sold at the public filature in Philadelphia, and that the silk produced from the *native* worm is of a good quality, and has been

much approved of in this city. As to hemp, we are ready to make it appear that it grows, as we have represented, spontaneously, and of a good texture on the Ohio. In the report itself it is urged — “every advantage derived from an established government would naturally tend to draw the stream of population; fertility of soil, and temperature of climate, offering superior incitements to settlers, who, exposed to few hardships, and struggling with few difficulties, could with little labour earn an abundance for their own wants.” This is the state of the intelligence which is to be gained from the parties concerned; from those who petitioned, and from those who wanted the petition to be rejected, both agree as to the fertility and healthiness of the territory. But I remarked before, that the same accounts were current before a colony was thought of.

Upon occasion of the last war Dr. Mitchel⁵ was employed by the ministry to take an accurate survey of all the back countries of North America, most of them being but little known, except to the French, who were in possession of a line of forts through all North America. No person could have been more properly appointed, for he was not only able to lay down the country with exactness, but being well acquainted with practical agriculture in Virginia and Pennsylvania, he was able to understand the nature and value of those countries he should traverse. This was the origin of his map of North America, the best general one we have had: at the time it was published, it was accompanied by a bulky pamphlet, written by the Doctor, and entitled, *The Contest in America*, in which he enters into a full elucidation of the importance of the back countries, and of the fatal effects which must flow from leaving the French in possession of their encroachments. Among others he considers particularly the territory of the Ohio, and shews of how much importance it is to the planters of Virginia; he there mentions the want of fresh lands for planting tobacco, and the necessity of their being able to extend themselves for that purpose beyond the mountains. The country is described as one of the finest and most fruitful in all America, and abounding greatly in deer, wild

⁵ Dr. John Mitchel, F. R. S., who lived for some years at Urbanna in Virginia, died in England in 1768.

cows, and wild oxen; and at the same time situated in one of the finest and most healthy climates in all that country.

This account agrees also with another which was given near an hundred years ago by La Hontan, who, speaking of the country to the south of lake Erie, mentions its being one of the finest on the globe, both in respect of climate and soil; it is a tract, he observes, of vast meadows, full of wild bees and deer, and the woods of vines and wild turkeys.⁶

Dr. Mitchel, in another work published in 1767, (*The Present State*) gives other particulars concerning this territory, which deserve attention; and especially in the point of affording that fresh land which is so much wanted in the tobacco colonies, where their plantations (as was shewn in the article of Virginia) are exhausted by continual crops of that product: "They will," says he, "be in a short time worn out, and when that happens, there must be an end of the tobacco trade, without a supply of fresh lands, fit to produce that exhausting weed, as well as to maintain cattle to manure them, with convenient ports and an inland navigation to ship off such a gross and bulky commodity; of which there are none in all the British dominions in North America, but the rich lands on the Mississippi and the Ohio: whoever are possessed of these must soon command the tobacco trade, the only considerable branch of trade in all North America, and the only one that this nation has left." In other passages the same writer describes these lands as being of considerable depth and fertility, having a natural moisture in them, and being excellently adapted for hemp, flax, and tobacco; also that no country can produce better for silk, wine, and oil, the climate being dry, which is the contrary of the maritime parts of America, where the rains are almost continual. And from the natural plenty of grass in meadows of great extent, with the general fertility of the soil, the maintenance of all sorts of cattle would be perfectly easy, and consequently provisions would be raised with scarcely any trouble; a point of great importance when a staple commodity is cultivated; for the planter ought to be able to give all his attention to the principal article: but if he is forced to divide his strength for providing food for cattle, etc., he cannot

⁶La Hontan, *New Voyages to North America*. London, 1703.

raise such a quantity of his staple as if more favorably circumstanced.

In a word, this territory of the Ohio enjoys every advantage of climate and soil which is to be found in the back parts of Virginia, but in a much higher degree, the soil being far more fertile, and the climate more pleasant and more wholesome. The assertions in the observations on the report of the board of trade are strong to this point and may be depended on, as several of the gentlemen in the association for establishing this colony have lived long in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and appointed persons to gain intelligence of all the material circumstances concerning it. From these, and the other authorities I have mentioned, it is plain, that this new colony will probably be found of the highest consequence in the production of the following commodities:

TOBACCO.

This valuable staple is cultivated in Virginia upon the freshest and most fertile lands; none can be too rich for it: a newly broken up woodland is what it most affects, and is what the planters choose for it, whenever it is in their power. I before observed that such new land was no longer in plenty in the tobacco colonies, which makes this acquisition of country of the more importance: here are immense forests upon a soil the most fertile that can be imagined, and consequently such a field for enlarging our tobacco plantations as the nation has long wanted. Such a soil may well prove an inducement to many to purchase great numbers of negroes, in order to employ them on staple productions, which in such fresh and fertile lands may safely be expected to pay them better than in the old colonies, where the good land has been for some time scarce; that is private property: there is in several of our colonies great tracts that are excellent, but this is like the wastes in Britain; plenty of land is of no effect, if it is not to be had by the new settlers without paying a large price for it. But the value of the lands on the Ohio is not disputed, the great point for tobacco is that of carriage; for it is so bulky, that if carriage is expensive, it cannot be brought cheap enough to market. The proprietors give the following account of the communication with the Atlantic. "During the last French war, when there was no

back carriage from the Ohio to Alexandria, the expence of carriage was only about a half-penny a pound, as will appear from the following account, the truth of which we shall fully ascertain, viz.:

	l.	s.	d.
From Alexandria to Port Cumberland			
by water	0	1	7 per cwt.
From Port Cumberland to Red Stone Creek, at fourteen dollars per waggon load, each waggon carrying fifteen cwt.....	0	4	2
	0	5	9

NOTE—The distance was *then* seventy miles, but by a *new* waggon road *lately* made, it is *now* but forty miles — a saving, of course, of above one-half of the 5s. 9d. is at present experienced. If it is considered that this rate of carriage was in *time of war*, and *when* there were no inhabitants on the Ohio, we cannot doubt but every intelligent mind will be satisfied that it is now *less* than is daily paid in London for the carriage of *coarse woollens, cutlery, iron ware, &c.* from several counties in England.” And in the enumeration of advantages quoted above, it is asserted, that *large ships* may be built on the Ohio, and sent loaded, from January to April, to Britain; also that provisions and lumber may be sent from thence cheaper to the West Indies, than from New York or Philadelphia.

These accounts call for several material observations: as to the truth of them, they are advanced in such a manner, and by such persons, that we have no reason to doubt it; nor should I omit to remark that the account coincides with others, particularly with the exportation which the French are well known to have carried on from the *Illinois*, and do at present carry on from thence. But it was never known that the mouth of the Mississippi was navigable for *large ships*; Captain Pittman, who surveyed the river, says, a thirty-six gun frigate has gone over with her guns *out*; but after you are on the bar, he acknowledges there is depth of water, all the way up, for any *ship whatever*. The proprietors remark, that half the 5s. 9d. is saved; but that does not appear, as the price from Alexandria to Fort Cumberland is not changed; but supposing instead of 4s. 2d. from Fort Cumberland to Red-

⁷ See Appendix.

stone Creek, that it should be only 2s. then the total price per cwt. would be 3s. 7d. or per ton 3l. 11s. 8d. Now two hogsheads of tobacco make a ton, which at 8l. are 16l. from which price the deduction of 3l. 11s. 8d. more than is paid by the planters near Alexandria, is too high to be submitted to, if any cheaper method can be found of conveying that product to shipping; and this cheaper method must surely be by the Mississippi, to the gulf of Florida; for if lumber and provisions can be sent by that channel cheaper than from New York or Philadelphia, as the proprietors assert, it must plainly be a cheaper way than a carriage which comes to 3l. 11s. 8d. per ton, which can never be supported by a commodity, the value of which at shipping is only 16l. a ton. The reason of this carriage being so dear, must be the number of falls above Alexandria. As to wheat and other provisions, they could never be sent by such a conveyance, five quarters of wheat are a ton, which at 20s. a quarter come only to 5l. a sum that will never bear 3l. 11s. 8d. carriage before it gets to the shipping; and if it is reckoned at 30s. or 7l. 10s. still 3l. 11s. 8d. is far more than it would bear.

Relative to the mother country, it is of very little consequence whether wheat and provisions can be exported from a colony or not, because staple commodities alone are valuable to Britain; but to settlers it is an object to know if all the surplus of their products can be exported to advantage. What they may be by the Mississippi is not the point at present, but certainly they cannot be to the Atlantic. By the accounts of the proprietors it is clear, that no commodity scarcely can be raised, but what may be sent from the Ohio to the West Indies. This concern of navigation is of great consequence to the tobacco planter, whose product is one of the most bulky staples of America; and in Virginia and Maryland the convenience of water-carriage is so great, that many planters had ships at their own doors; but this is not in common to be expected, though it seems that it might be the case along the Ohio, if once the navigation of the Mississippi be well understood from practice.

In respect of the advantages for tobacco planting, that result from a great plenty of land, enabling the planter to keep whatever stocks of cattle he wants, and to raise provisions for the

plantation, no country in America is comparable to the territory in question, where a country is now settling more than 500 miles long, by from 2 to 300 broad, possessing, in the utmost luxuriance of plenty, every necessity of life.

HEMP.

As tobacco requires for yielding great crops a rich woodland that is rather dry; hemp on the contrary, loves a large degree of moisture, in rich low lands. Such are found in great plenty in all the valleys, between the hills, in the new colony, where the soil is natural to this production, as we may judge from the circumstance of such quantities of wild hemp being found in almost all the low lands. This circumstance shews also how well the climate may be expected to agree with it. There is every reason in the world to think that the nation's expectations of having hemp from the colonies will at least, after so many disappointments, be answered by the lands on the Ohio. They are, it is universally agreed, of that nature which is peculiarly adapted to the production; the vales are rich, deep, moist, and so fertile that it will be many years before they are exhausted. This is precisely what has been so long wanted; for if hemp will not pay for the employment of negroes, it will never be made an article of culture in large: Secondary objects are always neglected; it is only those of the first importance which enjoy that degree of attention necessary to make anything succeed. The only thing to be feared, upon this principle, is the neglect of the planter, who, used to tobacco, may be so eager in raising that staple as to neglect every other. Neglect of this sort sometimes gives rise to ideas of incapacity in a country, when the fault is only in the cultivator: for this reason I cannot but regret, that the proprietors' offer of ten thousand pounds should have been accepted; they ought to have been bound to supply the navy with a given quantity of hemp, the growth of the colony, annually: this would have forced them to give a degree of attention to this important article, which in the present case may not be thought of. Nothing is more common in the establishment of colonies, than proprietors to make large promises at first, and afterwards to forget that ever such things were thought of. The territory of the Ohio is in no want of *encour-*

agement from the proprietors; but people are so apt to move only in their accustomed line, and so averse from all useful trials and experiments, that they should in some cases be driven to do that which is equally for the interest of their country and themselves.

VINES.

Of all North America, this is the tract which bids fairest for yielding wine: the native vines are in greater plenty and variety, than in any other part; the country at some distance from the Ohio is hilly and very dry, and in some places even rocky; but these plants do not require the rocky soil near so much as European ones; for they thrive and bear well on rich deep soils. "We have seen," says Dr. Mitchel, "fifteen different sorts of native grapes there, the like of which growing wild are certainly not to be found in any part of the world. The ordinary sorts of these in Virginia, yield a wine so like the common Bourdeaux wine, that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other; and from another sort, some wine has been made which was compared by good judges, both here and there, to the best that is drank. Other sorts yield wine exactly like the Lisbon. But instead of these they have transplanted grapes from the hills of Normandy to the maritime parts of Virginia and Carolina, where no one could expect them to thrive nigh so well as they do. They ripen there in the beginning and middle of August, when no one can expect to make good wine; although they yield a very good wine for present drinking. But this is the most improper for their climate of any grape that grows; neither is it the true Burgundy grape for which they got it." From hence it is easy to be gathered, if the fact was not well known, that these territories on the Ohio must be well adapted to vineyards; much more so than any maritime part of that continent; for near the sea the rains are almost incessant, whereas upon the Ohio the climate is very dry, and on the Mississippi it rarely rains. This is a circumstance extremely favorable to the vineyard culture, which never does well in a country where much rain falls: all the fine wines come from countries which enjoy upon the whole, a climate dry on comparison with others, and some remarkably so.

Wine is another commodity which will bear no long land

carriage, since to become an object of exportation from America to Britain, it must be afforded at a low price; wines upon the par of the red port of Portugal ought not to exceed 10 or 12 l. a pipe, prime cost, and perhaps not so much; this is 20 or 24 l. a ton; so that hemp is, in proportion of weight, as valuable a commodity. It will certainly be found that the Mississippi must be the conveyance of both tobacco, hemp, and wine, to the sea; land-carriage will add too much to the expences: a fresh reason for the navigation of the Mississippi being immediately and accurately examined. If ships of only 100 tons could (as the proprietors assert *large* ones can) be built on the Ohio, and sent at a certain season of the year, laden to Britain with hemp, tobacco, and wine, the advantage would be the most profitable application of the timber in the world; as well as casks for the wine and tobacco.

SILK.

All this territory abounds with mulberry trees, in an extraordinary manner; and it is very well known, that people in the new colony will soon be in plenty; the surplus of population in Pennsylvania, New York, Jersey, Virginia, and Maryland; a surplus which is great, as is well known from various circumstances before mentioned, such as numerous petitions to settle in the northern parts of New England; repeated ones for lands on the Ohio; and 30,000 people already settled there, even without the advantage of a government being established; also the well known want of *fresh* lands for tobacco. If the accounts we have had from all parts of the central colonies be well considered, there can be no doubt remain that 500,000 persons at least will, in a few years, be found in this colony, since it is that tract of country which has for so many years been the object of their ardent desires. Silk therefore certainly promises to become an article of no slight consequence, *in case the people will be persuaded to give due attention to it*; and in such cases I have often remarked, that the only sensible persuasions are examples and rewards. Every person might make a pound of silk, without interruption of their agriculture, which would be to themselves, as well as to Britain, an object of consequence; but if the business was well attended to by whole families, who understood the conduct of it,

then much larger quantities might be produced: and in such case it would be found, for the time it required, one of the most valuable staples in the world.

COTTON.

This plant grows spontaneously from the southern parts of Pennsylvania to Florida; in Virginia they have some that is excellent, and in some respects superior to that of the West Indies, particularly for mixing with wool. Upon the Ohio, the soil, after being exhausted by tobacco, would yield large crops of this for ever; the climate is better adapted to it, and the quantity gained would be greater. Cotton is not an article of sufficient value to be the sole product of a plantation; but as a secondary object it might be cultivated with good profit. This part of husbandry is not sufficiently attended to in our colonies; the planters bestow all their time and attention to their grand staple, so as to overlook all inferior articles; but this [is] a mistaken conduct; they can have no crop in this latitude that will employ them the whole year; the sensible management would be to have several, so as to employ their slaves on them in succession. Wheat may be the most valuable product of a British farm; but this does not prevent the farmer from sowing barley, oats, pease, and beans; nor does corn in general prevent his cultivating turneps, carrots, and potatoes, which again leave time for clover and grasses: and it is to this various application of his land, that he is as much obliged for his profit, as to any other circumstance. Sawing lumber does not equal (except in the lands that must be cleared for the crops) the culture of any staple: Among these secondary objects, cotton will here be found of no slight importance.

INDIGO.

The finest indigo is that of Guatemala, the climate exceeding hot; in St. Domingo the French raise large quantities that is excellent; and in Carolina it is become a staple of great consequence: the profit depends much on the heat of the climate, as may be judged from its being cut five times in St. Domingo in a season, three or four in Carolina, and two or three in Virginia; for there is some indigo planted in that province, notwithstanding its making no figure in the exports. On the Ohio there is great

reason to suppose it may be cultivated to good advantage, the soil being admirably rich, and the climate superior to Virginia; but a strong proof is its having long been an article of export from the Illinois settlements, which are full as northerly as any part of the colony of the Ohio. In Carolina they plant it on their dry sands; but this is for want of such a rich, deep, black mould as is found through the new colony, where soil may make good amends for want of so hot a sun; a point which seems almost proved by St. Domingo so much exceeding Carolina though the summers (notwithstanding the difference of latitude) are hotter in Carolina than in that island; but in the latter it is planted on fresh woodlands to prepare them for sugar, and in the former on a poor sand. This article is perfectly well adapted to the Ohio in another respect, which is that of its great value in proportion to its weight, which is so high that the price of an expensive carriage would be scarcely felt. This is a product which might (as well as silk) be sent over the mountains to be shipped in Virginia.

* * *

Under the articles tobacco and Indian corn, I have before remarked, that the reason the planters in America did not, on a given quantity of land, equal the profit of the farmers in Britain, was their executing much work by hand labour, which might as well and better be done by horse work. In Virginia, a negroe pays about 16*l.* in tobacco, and 4*l.* in sundry articles. It will admit of no doubt, that the sums will be higher on the Ohio; but at the same time they ought by management to be carried as high as possible; which can only be done by substituting the plough and horse-hoes, instead of the spade and hand-hoe: the expence of horses on the Ohio, or in Virginia, is not what it is here, for the price of the beast is not more than a third or fourth, and his keeping not a tenth of what it is in Britain. If these ideas were adopted their profit would rise greatly.

* * * However, without supposing any such good management, it would be a very moderate supposition to calculate the produce per working hand [in the Ohio], at 5*l.* more than in Virginia, or Maryland, which the great superiority of fresh lands, so extraordinary for their fertility, may well allow; and with the advantage of so large a range as the planters will have here, and

have not generally in the old tobacco colonies, a point of vast consequence, would justify a higher idea. If madder was undertaken, a much larger sum should be named; and yet how easy to introduce this upon a plantation, and extend the culture by degrees. Silk, madder, and indigo, of each but a small quantity, or only madder and silk, being so valuable, would pay the extra expence of carriage and freight on the other commodities; but I shall suppose, by adopting these articles in part, each working hand to pay 25 l. and the extra expence of carriage of some articles more than is felt in Virginia. Upon this footing I shall calculate the expences of establishing a capital plantation on the Ohio; previous to which it may not be amiss to point out to the first settlers some signs whereby they are to judge of the soil, not only here, but through all these central colonies, and also those to the southward.

The trees, which are the spontaneous product of the land, should in general be first attended to; if they abound with fine tall, red hickories, white oaks, chesnut oaks, scarlet-oaks, tulip trees, black walnuts, locusts, mulberry trees, etc., they may be pronounced good, and the value will usually be in proportion to the size and straitness of those trees; pines, live oaks, laurels, bays, liquid amber, and water oaks are, among others, signs of bad land; and in general that soil will be best which is free from under-wood: nor should the planter take a few trees of any sort as his guide, but a predominancy of them in whole woods. This rule of judging must be united with that of the appearance of the soil when dug into, particularly colour and depth; the black mould on a bed of loam is best; that on clay, good, but the light sandy tracts are in general bad, unless they are of a dark colour, and moist, with good trees growing from them; in that case they may be excellent; for sands differ as well as loams; the misfortune is, that in America the sands are generally white and dry, and produce little besides pines.

Besides tracts which may come under this description, he is farther to examine the meadows which are composed of similar soils, but without any trees, being covered with grass; these are to be judged by the height, thickness, and luxuriance of that grass. These tracts are common on the Ohio, and prove how

valuable the country should be esteemed: they, like the woodlands, should be examined with the spade, in order to know the appearance of the soil. Besides these there are marshes or swamps, but not in great quantities, as in the maritime parts of America: the value of these depend on two circumstances, the richness of the soil, and the ease of being drained: the former is seen by the products; cedars are good signs, though not very common; cypresses generally are found in them, from the tallness, size, and beauty of their stems: as to draining, it depends on the situation, and on examining the means of carrying off the water, as in all other countries. These swamps and marshes when drained, if the soil is stiff, are the proper lands for hemp, not that it will not thrive as well on fertile uplands; but they may be applied to other crops. There are besides these, hilly tracts, and the sides of mountains, generally of a gradual ascent, but sometimes sharp and rocky; on the latter vineyards may be planted, and also olives; on the former indigo, tobacco, madder, if rich, if indifferent, cotton, etc.

These are the soils and sort of tracts which are to be met with in the new colony; and I should observe that every kind of land here is equal to any in the world for the growth of wheat, maize, barley, oats, pease, beans, etc., all sorts of roots, and every kind of garden-stuff and fruit known in Europe. Of this no doubts can be entertained, when it is considered how well all these thrive in Maryland and Virginia, in the same latitude; whereas the Ohio is more fertile in soil, and far more temperate and regular in climate, being free from excessive heats, and those violent colds which are found in the maritime parts of the continent.

In the disposition of new plantations it is of consequence that the planters give some attention to the situations of their house and offices, a point which, in the hurry of the first building, is seldom thought of enough, not only as a matter of convenience and agreeableness, but also of health. In this continent the north-west wind brings the severe weather, and the worst seasons; a house should be well sheltered from it by wood, but instead of having any idea of shelter, planters in general attack all the timber around their houses with such undistinguishing

rage, as not to leave themselves in a few years a tree within sight. For convenience, as well as health and pleasure, the best situation would be in the centre of a space of wood in form of a crescent, open to the south, and in front of the navigation which is to convey the product of the plantation, always chusing an elevated situation, yet not the top of a hill, leaving as much ascent of wood behind the building, as descent of land before it.

Agriculture is followed in so imperfect a manner in our old colonies, owing to plenty of land, that one cannot expect to see it well managed here, where land is so much more plentiful; yet do I wish to see some plantations laid out in a manner that shall obviate the objections to the careless husbandry of the Americans. I here mean particularly to hint at inclosures—not to sow or plant any piece of ground that is not well and substantially enclosed with a ditch, a bank, and live hedge; the expence would bear no proportion to the numerous advantages of it; besides that uncommon superiority in point of neatness and beauty: and in the disposition of the fields, some should undoubtedly be left occupied with the timber that is upon them, as a future supply, which will be a matter of great consequence, not only to the public good of the colony, but also to the future private advantage of the planter.

And here I shall once more observe, that for gaining the requisite knowledge of so extensive a tract of so noble a country, the proprietors would act with a patriotic view if they were to establish a plantation in a well chosen spot, including every variety of soil for trying large experiments on the preceding list of staples, and others that might be named. The expence would not be considerable; under the direction of a sensible, intelligent overseer, who was a man of integrity; the produce would be highly sufficient, after the first expences, to pay the annual charge. In such a plantation might be introduced the culture of hemp and flax on every sort of soil, to see how far it might become the colony staple. Madder might be tried with the same design; vineyards should be planted, both of foreign and native grapes, for wines and raisins; silk should be made in large quantities; cotton tried with equal attention; and experiments made on indigo, to see how far fertility of soil in an

excellent climate would make amends for the want of greater heat. The native hemp, flax, silk-grass, and other indigenous plants brought into culture, that their qualities might be known; these would be noble designs, and could not fail of proving of great advantage to the colony, and of doing great honour to the proprietors.

I shall now proceed with the design of calculating the expences and profit of fixing a capital plantation on the Ohio, supposing the person to move from Britain, and to have money enough for all necessary (but not superfluous) expences.

	£.
Freight and expences of a family of six persons from London to Alexandria, at 25 l.....	150
Freight of ten tons.....	55
One year's living or board at 20 l.....	120
A second year's house-keeping.....	100
Fees of 10,000 acres at 30 l. per 1000.....	300
Building a house.....	200
Building offices.....	150
Furniture.....	150
Carriage of necessaries from Alexandria to the Ohio.....	50
A Canoe.....	50
Boats.....	15
Implements.....	200
Machine for rooting up trees.....	80
A saw-mill.....	500
50 horses, mares, and stallions.....	250
50 Cows.....	150
50 young cattle.....	50
100 Swine.....	25
500 Sheep.....	125
Carried over.....	£2720
Brought forward.....	£2720
Poultry.....	5
Repairs of implements.....	50

LABOUR.

Attendance on cattle.....	£30
Bailiff, (one year).....	40
Labour in clearing 20 acres of wheat, at 1 l.....	20
Ditto 40 oats, at 16s.....	32

70 turnips, at 11.....	70		
5 potatoes at 51.....	25		
On hay, mowing and making, &c. arpent of natural meadows	30		
On fencing	50		
Orchard and garden.....	20		
Sundries	30		
	—	—	347
40 negroes at 50 l.....			2000
Annual expence of negroes per head, overseer, 11.....	40		
Cloaths, 11.....	40		
Sundry expences	40		
	—	—	160

SEED.

20 acres of wheat at 8 s.....	8		
40 oats at 8 s.....	16		
	—	—	24
Carried over			£5306

		1.	s.	d.
Brought forward		5306	0	0
70 turnips, 1 s.....	3 10 0			
5 potatoes, 8 s.....	2 0 0			
	— — —	5	10	0
Taxes		30	0	0
Two years' interest on 5300 l.....		530	0	0
		—	—	—
		£5871	10	0

During the preceding time [five years, itemized statement, including the increase of 20 negroes bought every year], no produce is supposed from cattle, that in so great a space of country they might increase to great herds and flocks; but afterwards the annual product would be very great, as the numbers would be two or three thousand head of cattle, five or six thousand sheep, and two or three thousand hogs; such herds have been known the property of single people in North Carolina, where they have not greater advantages, nor yet so great, as on the Ohio: these would yield annually near 1000l. a year in hides, wool, and barrelled meat for the West Indies, but I shall calculate only 300l.

	l.	s.	d.
Receipt above	2043	10	0
Cattle	300	0	0
	£2343	10	0

Which from 8278 l. (total expense of stocking) is per cent. 28 l.

This profit is considerable, not so much in itself, as in the circumstance of the planters being able annually to incorporate it into the old capital, and thereby yield a compound interest at that proportion. I am of opinion, that husbandry in England will yield a greater profit than 24 l. per cent. [calculations for the Ohio less receipt from cattle] if so large a sum as 8000 l. is expended in stocking a farm. Calculations have been published of English husbandry, which shew that so high as 33 per cent. may be made in any part of the Kingdom by *good* and *improved* husbandry, and above 20 per cent. by the most common crops. And I am clear, that if potatoes, carrots, madder, hops, etc., were calculated (which do not come into those calculations) the profit might be carried to 40 or perhaps 50 per cent. in certain situations; in this respect I am confident that America cannot equal Britain, but in other points the superiority is entirely with her: that of the annual increase of culture is a very essential one. What a vast difference between the English farmer putting out his savings at 4 per cent. and his brother on the Ohio doing the same at 24 compound interest! What a difference between the one living on another man's land, with a lease of twenty-one years, which is a long one, subjected to the caprice of a landlord or a steward, or sure of quitting at the end of his term, and the other living on his own extensive freehold of 10,000 acres! What a difference between 80 l. a year spent in all sorts of necessities, even bread, meat, malt, etc., by the farmer for house-keeping; and the same sum by the planter for tea, sugar, coffee, chocolate, spices, rums, and manufactures. Bread, meat, venison, fruit, fish, fowl, game in the utmost plenty, besides the corn, etc., the expence of which is before reckoned, but no produce!

In all these circumstances there can be no comparison: at the same time that the Ohio planter makes near as great interest from his first capital as the English farmer; at the same time that he is

able to throw his savings annually into business at 28 per cent. compound interest; he lives like a country gentleman in Britain who has an estate of 2000*l.* a year, and if the latter spends half the year at London, much better; while the farmer, it is very well known, must fare very coarsely. I draw this comparison with no design to send British farmers to the Ohio. I am clear not one in the three Kingdoms will do; had I thought a book would be an inducement to them, I would not have drawn up this calculation: it is written for the use of those who will go to America, whether books are published or not; and to them it is meant merely as advice, that they make a proper choice of the colony they settle in: many go to Nova Scotia, to New England, to New York, etc., where they can raise nothing advantageous to the commerce of Britain, and where they must live in a climate that is odious to a British constitution, at least during the severity of winter. There is no object in the whole range of American affairs of more importance than the directing new settlers, whether from Britain or foreign countries, to those parts of our colonies, which from their staple productions are really valuable to the mother-country; yet this matter, of as great consequence as it certainly is, has not by any means been so much attended to as it ought; for government has paid the freight of more men to Nova Scotia, than it has to Virginia and Maryland; though the former has no staple, and can only rival Britain in her fishery, and the latter one so valuable in every respect as tobacco.

APPENDIX.

By the country of the Ilionois, I mean all that territory to the north-west of the Ohio, extending on both sides the river Ilionois quite to Lake Michigan and the river St. Joseph; the settlements made by the French on the river Myamis; but in particular the country east of the Mississippi, between the Ohio and Ilionois river, to the distance of about one hundred miles from the former. This territory went among the French by the general name of the country of the Ilionois. It claims attention in this work, first because we are in possession of all the settlements made by the French in it, and notwithstanding its being deficient in all government but that of the commanding officers of our forts, they have increased considerably by the wandering settlers from our colonies; and secondly, because the great richness of the soil and fertility of the climate will hereafter attract so many inhabitants, as to make the

establishment of some civil government highly necessary. The public accounts given of this country are not numerous, but what there are, are very consistent with each other, and also with the private information I have received from the officers with whom I have conversed, that made a considerable residence there.

Charlevoix, who passed through this country, has given some slight descriptions of different parts, which will afford a pretty good idea of it; he entered it by Lake Erie, the country upon which though not included in it, yet is so near as to deserve our attention here.* . . .

I have been led to make these long extracts from Charlevoix, because his authority has always been justly esteemed, and he gave this account long before the country became subject to Britain: although he only touches upon certain circumstances of the soil and climate, as a traveller and not as a resident, yet may we gather from it that both are excellent, and the soil is fertile in yielding tobacco and the articles of comon husbandry, particularly wheat; that the forests are among the finest in the world; the meadows of an unbounded extent, and full of buffaloes; that the air is pure and healthy, and the climate in every respect temperate and agreeable; and lastly, that the beauty of many tracts of this country is as great as the finest assemblage of wood, water, hill, and dale can make it.

Much later accounts confirm these particulars. When Charlevoix was there, in 1721, the French had not begun to cultivate it, but since that period they have made a great progress; so that at the peace of 1762 they had a fine and well settled colony about Kascasquias and Fort Chartres, and also many settlements on the river Myamis, principally inhabited by emigrants from Canada: some of these sold their effects, and retired upon the conclusion of the peace, but the major part remained under the British government; nor has the country declined since, notwithstanding the only government established in it is that of the commanding officers of the garrisoned forts.

Mr. Pownal, in his *Administration of the Colonies*, gives, from very good authority, a few particulars concerning the country of the Illinois. "This country," says Charlevoix in 1721, "will become the grainery of Louisiana; and in 1746 we find it actually becoming so, for in that year it sent down to New Orleans fifty ton of flour; in 1747 we find it well furnished with provisions, and having fine crops; and in a letter of Mons. Vaudreuil's, in 1748, we have an account of its produce and exports—flour, corn, bacon, hams, both of bears and hogs, corned pork, and wild beef, myrtle-wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, copper, some small quantity of buffalo wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, and some coarse furs; and we find a regular communication

*Citations from the *Voyage*, London, 1761, Vol. II, pp. 3, 6, 17, 18, 40, 98, 199, 218, 221, 222, 236-239: with a trace of the coloring of the developmental propagandist.

settled with New Orleans, by convoys, which come down annually the latter end of December, and return at latest by the middle of February."

The private accounts I have had of this country confirm the preceding articles of intelligence, and give the greatest reason for determining that it ranks among the best and most agreeable of America; especially in every circumstance that concerns the plenty and agreeableness of living, and all the productions of common husbandry, in which I believe it yields to no part of the world. As to staples in a British market, it will be by no means deficient in them, whenever the advantages of the climate are any ways seconded in these respects by the skill and industry of the planters. Tobacco may undoubtedly be produced here in any quantity, and of a quality equal to any other: the country, most of it, in the same latitude as Virginia and Maryland, with the advantage of a much more regular climate, and winters less severe.

In a word, it is deficient in no article that can tend to render it a valuable colony, and whenever it is settled will be found of that importance to this kingdom, of which we have already experienced those to be that possess staple productions.

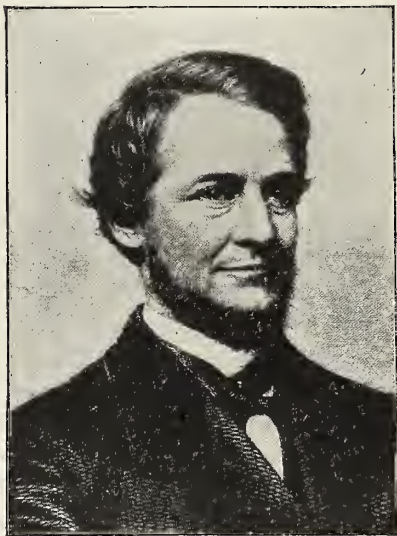


CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM.

BY W. H. VAN FOSSAN, LISBON, OHIO.

In my library is a pencil-marked volume of the miscellaneous works of Sir Philip Sidney, Knt. It is not the contents of this book, however, that leads me to refer to it, but the carefully punctuated autograph of its purchaser: "C. L. Vallandigham, London, Canada West, April 22, 1864."

Fifty years after, it may be of interest to ask, Who was this man his followers called the "martyr in exile", the man who, in



C. L. Vallandigham.

part at least, occasioned the writing of Edward Everett Hale's famous patriotic story which appeared at that time, "A Man Without a Country"? Who was he who made the Ohio campaign of 1863 the most bitter political fight in the history of the state and of whom it was said that outside of the Confederate armies opposition to the war centered in him? Let us look to the causes of this growing opposition and the circumstances which made Vallandigham its leader.

The dark days of this middle period of the Civil War had not yet passed. Grant was still besieging Vicksburg without success. After the battle of Stone River, Rosecrans was inactive and apparently helpless. Already Lee had invaded Maryland and threats of a second invasion of the North were heard. There

had been the terrible and useless slaughter at Fredericksburg. Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation was assailed by every opponent of the abolition cause. Ardor for the cause of the Union lessened and a draft became necessary. Riots were not uncommon in the enforcement of the act of conscription. The suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, particularly in territory not occupied by the federal armies, was bitterly attacked. It is thus seen there were not a few things to encourage the discontent and opposition that had existed in the North from the opening of the War. The Peace Democrats or Copperheads, as the faction was called, demanded more loudly than before that a compromise be made with the South and the War come to an end.

It was Vallandigham, still the member of Congress from the Dayton, Ohio, district, who led these attacks on Lincoln and the conduct of the War. From the beginning he had been persistent in opposing the War, and the anti-slavery movement. The record of his opposition is best shown in a volume of his speeches on Abolition, The Union, and the Civil War. One of these speeches is of particular interest in this connection. It was made in January, 1863, in the last session of the 37th Congress and in the closing days of his last term in office. His subject was "The Great Civil War in America". Into it he put the supreme effort of his life. It was a frank and fearless statement of his political beliefs and a philippic against the administration of Lincoln. In commenting on this speech, a correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette said, "This man is the hero of our northern rebels, the most respectable in talents, the most honest in declaring his position, the bravest in defending them against whatever storm of opposition and obliquy." The Boston Herald made this comment: "His method of speaking is very attractive. Added to his fine appearance of person he has a good voice and gesture and always speaks without notes. Today he was bold and determined and, while his views may be regarded as 'words of brilliant and poisoned treason,' it is universally admitted to have been a most able speech from that standpoint." It will give the reader a better idea of its thought and sentiment if I quote from the speech itself. He thus summed up his record on the question of slavery: "I am one of the number who have opposed abolition-

ism or the political development of the anti-slavery sentiment of the North and West from the beginning. In school, at college, at the bar, in public assemblies, in the legislature, in Congress, boy and man, as a private citizen and in public life, in time of peace and in time of war, at all times and at every sacrifice, I have fought against it." On the results of the war he said: "You can never subdue the seceded states. Two years of fearful experience have taught you that. Why carry on this war? It will end with final separation of the South and the whole North-west will go with the South. African slavery will come out of this conflict fifty-fold stronger than when it was begun." At the same time he declared himself to be a defender of the Union: "Whoever here or elsewhere believes that war can restore the union of these states; whoever would have a war for the abolition of slavery or for disunion; and who demands southern independence and final separation, let him speak: for him have I offended. Devoted to the Union from the beginning, I will not desert it now in the hour of its sore trial." He then pictured the great and happy future of his reunited country and how it had been the dream of his boyhood to live to the centennial year of its birth and be the orator of the day. "Do right", said he, "and trust to God and truth and the people. Perish office, perish honors, perish life itself; but do the thing that is right and do it like a man. We are in the midst of the very crisis of this revolution. If today we secure peace and begin the work of reunion we shall yet escape; if not, I see nothing before us but unusual political and social revolution, anarchy and bloodshed compared with which the Reign of Terror in France was a merciful visitation."

Every student of the period will find this address well worth reading. Vallandigham was doubtless sincere; but woefully wrong and impractical in his views. Had the plans proposed in his address been carried out, they would have destroyed the government he meant to preserve. To him there was no elastic clause in the Constitution; no right to coerce a seceded state; no emergency power even to preserve the very life of the Republic itself. He could not see, as Lincoln and others saw so clearly, that the Constitution was a concrete, living, growing, flexible

thing, and to serve its fundamental purposes it must adjust itself to the expanding life and new ideals of a great nation. Nor could he see that there was no basis for the lasting reunion of the states except upon the terms of the absolute surrender of secession; and that, if needs be, the War must go on "Until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword." The American people are not sticklers for the letter of the law. They want their legislators and administrators to do things; and are satisfied to get them though the spirit of the law may have to be drawn upon liberally to do so. Through these gloomy days of opposition the careworn President stood unchanging in his conviction that the War must end with the extinction of both secession and slavery. And bad as it was, the worst antagonism and most malicious abuse were yet to come.

In the fall election of 1862 Vallandigham had not been returned to Congress. The sting of defeat made him still more hostile and defiant, if possible. Out of office he was in danger of being lost sight of if he did not keep himself before the people. He came back to Ohio and was a receptive candidate for governor; but the Democratic leaders did not look upon him as an available man for the place. Just at this time, however, events occurred which gave him the opportunity for the nomination he coveted. The famous General Orders No. 38, issued from his headquarters at Cincinnati by General Burnside, who was then in command of the military department of the Ohio, was the spark in the powder: "All persons within our lines who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country will be tried as spies and traitors and, if convicted, will suffer death. The habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested and tried as above stated or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends."

Vallandigham was furious over this order, which he declared was an illegal restriction of the freedom of speech and the press. A mass meeting of his party was held at Mount Vernon, Ohio, the 1st of May. In the course of his speech on this occasion he denounced this order of Burnside as a base usurpation of power. He said that he despised it and spat upon it and

trampled it under his feet. He denounced Lincoln and his minions and called upon the people at the ballot box to hurl the tyrant from his throne. He denounced the war as wicked, cruel and unnecessary; a war not to preserve the Union, but to crush out liberty and erect a despotism; a war for the freedom of the blacks and the enslavement of the whites. The sooner the people informed these minions of usurped power that they would not submit to such restrictions upon their liberties, the better. The



The Vallandigham Homestead, Lisbon, Ohio.

speech was cheered by his listeners, many of whom wore badges of butternuts and copperheads.

A report of this speech was made to General Burnside, who sent a company of soldiers by special night train to Dayton to arrest Vallandigham. His house was broken into. He was seized, hurried off to Cincinnati and placed in prison. The following day he issued an address to the Democratic party of the state. A military court was convened. Vallandigham was arraigned on the general charge, with several specifications, of "declaring

disloyal sentiments and opinions for the purpose of weakening the power of the government to suppress an unlawful rebellion". He was found guilty and sentenced to confinement in Ft. Warren during the remainder of the War.

The city of Dayton went wild with excitement over the incident. A mob burned the office of the leading Republican newspaper. General Burnside sent troops to restore order. The city was put under martial law. The whole country was pretty thoroughly aroused. At a meeting of the Democratic party, held at Albany, N. Y., a committee drafted resolutions and sent them to the President denouncing the arrest, trial and imprisonment. Two days after the trial, Vallandigham's counsel, George E. Pugh, asked Judge Leavett of the U. S. Circuit Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which the court denied. The proceedings of the trial were placed in the hands of Lincoln. What to do with the prisoner was a delicate question for the President to decide. He could not afford to endanger the support of the War Democrats by carrying out the sentence. To release him would be even worse. "Why," asked Lincoln, "must I shoot the simple-minded soldier boy who deserts while I must not touch a hair of the head of the wily agitator who induces him to desert?" The President's tact in handling the situation was shown as on many other occasions. "Why not take him", said Lincoln, "into the South and turn him over to his friends?" On the President's order Vallandigham was released from prison and sent to General Rosecrans, taken into Tennessee by a military escort and under a flag of truce delivered to General Bragg. But he remained only a short time in the South. From Wilmington, North Carolina, he took passage on a blockade runner and reached Bermuda, whence he sailed in an English vessel to Halifax, Canada. As he passed through different cities of the Dominion he received no little attention from prominent British subjects. Established on the border he kept in constant communication with men and affairs at home. He was visited by many of his sympathizers, singly and in delegations. When at Windsor, opposite Detroit, where he finally took up his residence, he received a large body of students from the University of Michigan. Agents of the confederate government were among his visitors, as were also mem-

bers of the "Knights of the Golden Circle", a secret order of southern sympathizers organized in the North for the purpose of overthrowing the authority of the United States and of giving aid to the rebellion. With the assistance of men from the confederate army this organization planned to release the prisoners at Johnson's Island, Camp Douglass and other northern prisons. The actual attempt to do so at Johnson's Island is one of the romances of the Civil War. There were many *lodges* in Ohio, particularly in the southern part of the state. The membership in Ohio alone was probably more than 50,000. Of this order Vallandigham was the supreme commander at the very time he was in exile. It is thus seen his banishment merely changed the base but not the fact of his political activities and opposition.

As to the arrest of Vallandigham, it was a mistake. General Burnside should have paid no attention to the Mount Vernon speech. The *order* issued by Burnside was also a mistake. The anti-war faction took it as a challenge. The result of it was Vallandigham was looked upon as a martyr and became the hero of his party in Ohio. Other candidates for governor were now swept out of the race. Delegates to the convention from all parts of the state came instructed to vote for him. When the convention met the state capital was filled with thousands of his followers. The opposition to his nomination was feeble. With violent speeches and amid scenes of excitement never before witnessed at a state convention, he was chosen to head the ticket. His nomination took place while he was still in the South. Later, from the Clifton house on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls, he sent out his letter of acceptance. The Republicans nominated John Brough, who was a war Democrat.

In the campaign that followed the storm of party passion that broke upon the state was without parallel in Ohio politics. Many speakers of national reputation were brought in by both parties. Great parades, including women dressed in white and on horseback, were a feature of the meetings. Neighbors and members of the same household became enemies and personal encounters were a common occurrence. Threats were made that if Vallandigham decided to return to the state an army of Democrats would meet him at the border as an escort. The newspaper

files and the memory of many men and women still living are witness of the extreme hatred, vituperation and violence of the time. It was the climax of the anti-war sentiment in the state and country. On the other side brighter days for the Union cause had come. Vicksburg had surrendered and Lee had been hurled back from Gettysburg never to recover from his terrible losses. From the start the campaign was a losing fight for the Democrats. More than any one else Vallandigham himself was responsible for putting his party on indefensible ground in its attitude toward the war. Prominent Democrats as army and naval officers and many thousands of others in the field and at home had joined with political enemies to save the Union; while their party standard-bearer in this campaign was a pro-slavery man with semi-secession sentiments and who from his seat in Congress had practically opposed every measure of the administration to put down the rebellion; a man who gloried in the defeat of the Union armies on the field and of the Union at the polls, whose influence had discouraged enlistment and had encouraged desertion and riot, and who finally, under the constitutional claims of free speech, had goaded on the government to his arrest and banishment. Too late had the Democratic leaders seen their fatal blunder. They had mistaken the deeper feelings of the people. Election day came—it was then in October—and Brough's majority was a hundred thousand.

However, this battle at the polls helped to do at least one good and decisive thing. In the large it put up squarely to the people the issue of a new Union, purged of both secession and slavery. And the result was the end of organized and insolent disloyalty in the North. Henceforth, peace by compromise was a dead issue and the menace of its brilliant but misguided leader passed with it.

In the following year Vallandigham left Windsor in disguise and the day after his departure appeared unexpectedly at a political meeting in Hamilton, Ohio. He returned to his home in Dayton and, unmolested by the government, resumed the practice of law. He was a delegate to the national convention of 1864 which nominated McClellan and also to that of 1868. Though the man above all others who put his party on the wrong side

during the war, yet to his credit it must be said it was he who first proposed a "right about face" plan to give his party a new start and redeem it from the disadvantage of its war record. The new doctrine "was to be a settlement in fact of all the issues of the War and acquiescence in the same as no longer issues before the country." Such a resolution was offered by Vallandigham and adopted by the state convention held at Columbus the first of June, 1871. This was his last act in politics. His death took place a few days later from the accidental discharge of a pistol he was using for illustration in a murder trial. But little past fifty and at the maturity of his powers, it is interesting to ask what would have been his future had he lived longer? In the new order of things would he have overcome the feeling against him and again been honored with important places of trust and leadership?

As one studies the career and character of this man he thinks sadly of what the memory of him might have been. Here was a northern man with talents, conscience, courage—a large measure of all these. Yet why was he so persistently, narrowly and venomously on the wrong side? Possibly his ancestors and early training may account in part for his set of mind. Born in 1820 at New Lisbon (now Lisbon), Ohio, he was the son of Clement Vallandigham, a preacher of the Covenanter type, as most Presbyterian divines were a century ago. The Van Landeghems were Huguenots from Flanders and for conscience sake had emigrated to Virginia about 1690. His mother was Rebecca Laird, of Scotch-Irish parentage. Decision, moral courage, religious conviction were family traits, and Clement Laird, the subject of this sketch, had them all. Yet with his intense nature, he was free from bigotry. He was never known to speak unkindly of another's belief. He was, however, a political zealot and few boys more than young Vallandigham were "father to the man". He took for his political creed the Jefferson resolutions of 1798. As a college student we find him defending *state rights* and slavery. He made speeches in the campaigns of 1840 and 1844 for the Democratic party. In the meantime he studied law, and had been admitted to the bar and was practicing in his native town with his older brother, who later

entered the ministry and was his biographer. He represented his native county in the state legislature at the time of the Mexican War and young as he was became a leader among his party colleagues. He then moved to Dayton to become editor of the *Western Empire*, a Democratic newspaper of the town. After two years he again took up the practice of law and soon won high rank at the bar. At the same time he was continually in politics. For a period of ten years he was a candidate for office—that of common pleas judge, lieutenant governor, and other offices, but was not successful. In 1856 he was the candidate of his party for Congress and after a six months' contest over the vote was given a seat in the House, where he sprang at once into a position of leadership. For twenty years he had made speeches against abolition and the growing centralization of power in the federal government. He was of the Calhoun school and clung to principles in the abstract; in party phrase a strict constructionist, a devotee of the Union as it was. He prided himself on his political consistency; but consistency with him made little provision for change and progress. He wanted to keep the Union intact; but was so blinded with the idea of a literal and inelastic constitution and so obsessed with the idea of compromise, he was willing to accept almost any kind of a union agreeable to the interests of slavery. Peace at any price was the burden of his speeches. And just before the beginning of the War he prepared a bill proposing to divide the country into four sections for the purpose of government. In advocating his ideas he was reckless of opposition and at times spoke with a boldness that was startling. To this add his boundless ambition and his end is not surprising. In the crisis through which his country in its growth was passing he did not see how futile it was to attempt "The Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key". Next to Lincoln the most talked of and paragraphed man of the time, he is without statue or tablet, North or South—truly a man without a country. And the Vallandigham homestead, instead of being a Mecca for future generations as an enthusiastic editor had predicted, is only a name, without historical interest even to the youth of his native village.

Differ as men did as to his political career his non-political

and personal life was common ground for admiration and praise. Here also the man and the boy were one and the same. He was a bright lad. On the authority of his brother he knew the alphabet at two, had begun Latin and Greek at eight and at twelve was ready for college. Being too young to enter, he continued his studies under the family roof where his father conducted a small classical school to help out on his meager salary. At seventeen he entered Jefferson College, Pa., in the junior year. In the two years following he was principal of Union Academy in eastern Maryland. He then returned to college for the work of the senior year; but did not graduate because of his dismissal for the offensive manner in which he had expressed his political opinions in a recitation. Later he was offered a diploma by the college president whom he had offended. In these years he is described as a slender, hawk-nosed, eagle-eyed, handsome young fellow. He was high-spirited, sensitive, proud, at times despondent and impatient of restraint, in defeat a hard loser. Though dignified and reserved and by some considered eccentric, he was modest and winning in his manners and much admired. He made few intimate friends, and later, when in public life, was never a good mixer. He cared little for play and took no part in college sports. Yet he loved outdoor life and was a good shot and an enthusiastic fisherman. He took study seriously and stood high in his classes. Even at this time his course of life seemed clear to him and he made thorough preparation for it. He was a diligent student of literature, history and public speaking, and won honors in debate.

His character was exceptionally pure. He had adopted a code of rules for moral and religious culture and under no circumstances would he sacrifice principle for good fellowship. On one occasion when among convivial friends who undertook to force him to drink he defended himself with pistol in hand. He was made of stern stuff. While yet in his teens his character was set as firmly as in most men of thirty. The example and religious training of his home had made deep impressions. He revered the memory of his father; and his love for his mother, who lived to old age, was singularly beautiful. His letters to his wife, who was Louisa McMahon of Maryland, show his devotion to his

own family and his concern for the careful training of his son. Honest, sincere, high-minded, God-fearing, as a young man, through all the ups and downs of his career he changed little. No political corruption touched him. A member of the Presbyterian church, he held firmly to what had been for generations the family faith. He was a close student of the Bible, which he used abundantly for illustration in conversation and in his speeches. Always a gentleman, refined and cultured, even in the most heated controversies he seldom violated the proprieties of discussion. He was a brilliant conversationalist and outside of his politics was admired alike by friends and foes. All his life he was a great reader. He never lost his love for the ancient classics. History was his favorite subject and the *Federalist* his political text-book. His well-selected library contained all the best of poetry and fiction and the standard works of history, biography, and philosophy. And he had read them all. It was his habit in reading to mark passages that impressed him and to fill the blank pages with notes and comments. He read with care and forgot little. No member of Congress was more ready in discussion; few statesmen of his time more elegant in diction, more forceful and eloquent or more withering in sarcasm. With so much to praise, the pity of it is that his political life spells obstruction and destruction and not construction; that with his great abilities and inflexible purpose and acknowledged integrity he fought to the bitter end those who gave our country its "new birth of freedom" and lasting union and the primacy it holds in the great world affairs of today.

"We shall march prospering,—not thro' his presence;
Songs may enspirit us,—not from his lyre;
Deeds will be done,—while he boasts his quiescence,
Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire."

All his life a citizen of a northern state, he ought to have been on the honor roll of his country. But somehow on the loom of his life in the very beginning the weaver tangled the threads and the cause of Freedom and Union lost a great leader.

BEGINNINGS OF LUTHERANISM IN OHIO.

BY PROFESSOR B. F. PRINCE, PH. D.

By the treaty of Fort Stanwix made with the Iroquois Indians in 1768, a large tract of land was opened to settlement in Western Pennsylvania and other regions, reaching as far south as Eastern Tennessee. The lands in Western Pennsylvania were opened to purchase in 1769. They were much sought for by residents of the eastern part of the State and by adventurers from Maryland and Virginia. There were also Germans directly from the Fatherland who came into these regions desirous of making a home for themselves and their children.

These settlements were a background for the pioneers who came later into the territory which afterwards became the State of Ohio. Though a few settlements had been made west and north of the Ohio River by 1790, but little was done toward building up the country until after the treaty of Greenville in 1795. The Indians of the Northwest were very jealous for their country west of the Ohio River, and aimed at the exclusion of the whites from that region. The splendid victory of General Wayne at the battle of the Fallen Timbers dissipated their hopes and led them to cede more than one-half of the present State of Ohio to immediate settlement. People from New England States, from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and North Carolina came and occupied great stretches of land, subdued the forests and made homes for themselves and their posterity.

Some of the first Lutheran preachers in the State of Ohio began their work in Western Pennsylvania. In 1787 Johannes Stauch, later changed to Stough, crossed the mountains from Maryland and took up his residence in the Virginia Glades situated in Southwestern Pennsylvania. He came as a teacher and a layman. In common with other teachers who served in German settlements, he conducted religious services on Sunday

afternoons at which he read a German prayer and a German sermon. Because of this he was called by the people a preacher, and was pressed to do a preacher's work. They argued if he could read sermons he could also read marriage ceremonies. In emergency he did so without authority from Church or State. Soon afterwards he obtained from the civil court the right to perform marriage ceremonies. After teaching for four years, Mr. Stauch in 1791 began the work of minister and pastor, though without license. In 1793 he presented himself before the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and after due examination was enrolled as a licentiate of that body. Though he appeared at the meetings of the Ministerium he was not ordained until 1804. Mr. Stauch was no doubt among the very first Lutheran ministers who served west of the mountains. He studied theology in his own cabin, and long before his death was recognized as a faithful and strong preacher of the Word. He became a valuable pioneer missionary and laid the foundation of many churches in Ohio. He was the type of many useful men who became pastors in the Ohio field, men of limited education but of sterling qualities of mind and heart.

There were many adventurers and irresponsible preachers who visited and more or less disturbed the early churches of the West. They were without synodical connection, some of them capable, a few of them pious, but most of them merely seeking a place for the funds received and the advantages that might come from their position as preachers.

On such preachers the Ministerium of Pennsylvania kept a watchful eye. These adventurers were generally anxious to become members but could be admitted only after much scrutiny by that body. There were some splendid men among the first preachers in Western Pennsylvania, Revs. Lutze, Stauch, John M. Steck, G. A. Reichard and Jonas Mechling, who were pious and devoted servants and laid well the foundations for Lutheranism in the regions where they ministered to the people. All these men gave force and character to the work in Ohio because of their connection for a long time with the same synod, and their close relationship to the Ohio preachers in yearly conferences after 1812.

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Synod of North Carolina were not indifferent to the wants of the West. They heard the appeals for aid and sent them traveling preachers, though they gave but a pittance for their support. Their treasuries were not full. They would have done more if their synodical funds had permitted. Some years they sent out a number of traveling preachers; in others, because of a shortage of money, they reduced the number to one. Then there was also a lack of young men who were willing to enter the work or whose education was of the character needed for the times. The older and better educated found ample opportunities for exercising the ministerial office east of the mountains. The Ministerium had in its numbers persons who were educated in Germany and knew what a theological education meant, and who insisted in holding the educational standard so high that few persons cared, in the absence of a suitable school, to enter the ministry. It was not then in the power of the Ministerium to furnish all the men called for from Ohio. Had it been able to do so, the history of the Lutheran Church within the State would be of a different character.

At the meeting of the Ministerium in 1804 three propositions were presented to that body from the special conference of the Lancaster district that looked toward progress in the Lutheran Church:

1. Concerning an institution for the education of young preachers.

2. Concerning a synodical treasury.

3. Concerning traveling preachers.

These propositions were adopted by the Ministerium, though in lieu of an institution for the education of young men for the ministry four pastors were designated as teachers for all candidates who sought to enter the holy office. At this meeting a petition was received from Columbiana county, Ohio, asking that Mr. George Simon be admitted to the ministry. A license was granted him as a candidate, and he was directed to minister in the congregations that might ask for his services, but was also admonished that the Ministerium desires that he receive further instruction. Mr. Simon was undoubtedly the first recognized

Lutheran minister to serve congregations in Ohio, at least the first of whom record can be found on a synodical roll. His field was in Columbiana county, and here were, perhaps, the first Lutheran congregations in our State, though not yet fully organized.

At the meeting of the Ministerium in 1805 there is this entry in the records: "Mr. Jacob Goering reported the death of the beloved candidate, Mr. George Simon, from Ohio." No further note or tradition is extant of his brief work, though it is believed that he was a good man and gave promise of a useful life in the Lord's cause among the people.

At the meeting of the Ministerium in 1805, it was resolved that a traveling preacher be named for the district called New Pennsylvania (in the State of Ohio) whose territory stretched from New Madrid to Lake Erie. To this field Rev. William Forster was appointed. His full name was likely William George Forster. In the records of the Ministerium he is known as William but in Ohio as George Forster. Rev. Forster's name first appeared on the roll of the Ministerium in 1798. At that time several congregations in Shenandoah county, Virginia, which he was serving, asked that he be made a member of the Ministerium and thereafter serve them as an accredited minister. Their request was granted and he remained there until 1806. In obedience to the wish of the Ministerium he made a visit to Ohio in 1805 which he reported at the meeting in 1806. After his permanent arrival his field was in Fairfield county, which at that time embraced also parts of Perry and other counties. Through this part of the State ran Zane's tract. The land adjacent to this tract was rapidly taken up with permanent settlements, because it afforded the best route of travel into the new State. Hence Fairfield, Perry and other nearby counties early received a large influx of Pennsylvanians, Marylanders and Virginians who were of German descent, and thus made the region an important one for the first Lutheran preachers. Here in what is now Perry county, was formed one of the first Lutheran congregations in the State. It was at New Reading in 1805, and was the first religious organization in the county. It is still in existence. In 1806 Zion's congregation was formed.

The Church building was in joint use by the Lutherans and Reformed. Rev. Forster organized the Church at Somerset in 1812. This congregation became quite a factor in the Lutheran history of Ohio. The first building was erected of hewed logs, had a gallery, and a pipe organ built by one of its members. Here the Synod of Ohio, now Joint Synod, was formed in 1818, and to this place in 1846 it was voted to transfer the Lutheran Seminary from Columbus, a purpose never carried out. There are now seven Lutheran churches in the county, all under the control of the Joint Synod of Ohio.

Rev. Forster continued his work until 1815, at which time he died. He lies buried at Zion's Church, which he organized in 1806. He planted well, as the congregations of his ministry still show. In 1811 he located at Lancaster, O., where he was pastor for a time.

There were times in the history of these early preachers when things did not move smoothly with the various pastors. In 1813 Rev. Forster complains to the Ministerium of interference on the part of Mr. Leist. The complaint was referred to a special conference which decided that it was best for Mr. Forster to give up one of his congregations named Ziegler's, in Fairfield county, and for Mr. Leist to take the same.

Mr. Forster was somewhat disposed to do things in an unusual way. The congregations in Belmont, Jefferson, Guernsey, and Washington counties, wishing that Mr. Anthony Geyer might serve them, Rev. Forster granted him a license. When this action was reported to the Ministerium it met its disapproval and it resolved "that Rev. Lochman earnestly reprimand Mr. Forster in the name of the Ministerium, for assuming the right to grant Mr. Geyer a license."

Rev. John Stauch was the second traveling preacher sent to Ohio by the Ministerium. We have already noticed his coming to Western Pennsylvania in 1787, and his entrance into the ministry. He continued to labor there for nearly twenty years and met with much success in his work. But he was transferred to another field. In 1806 the Ministerium passed this resolution, "That Rev. Johannes Stauch shall be paid for his labors outside the congregations he has accepted in the State of Ohio

just as other traveling preachers." Mr. Stauch's advent into Ohio was evidently made in 1806, though at the time of the meeting of the Ministerium he is still noted as from Fayette county, Pennsylvania. He made a report of the work done by him at the meeting in 1807. He showed that he had traveled 1300 miles, preached 67 times, baptized 212 children, and that he had spent one hundred and twenty days in the work. During the next year the low state of the funds prevented sending out more than one traveling preacher, and that one for three months only. Mr. Stauch was chosen for this service. The other nine months were spent in his charge in Ohio. In the minutes of the Ministerium of 1808 Mr. Stauch is located at Lisbon, in Columbiana county. This place was the center of all his future labors. In 1808 he reports 356 communicants, and in 1809 fourteen congregations in Columbiana, Jefferson and Trumbull counties, and five vacant congregations, with a communicant membership of 505, and three schools. In 1812 he reports eight schools, and Forster reports four schools. From reports made from time to time to the Ministerium, the early Lutheran preachers in Ohio were very attentive to the instruction of the young. And so wherever possible they established schools under the immediate care of the congregations. The free public school system in the State was not in full operation until a much later period, hence for this and other reasons Church schools were maintained. The pastors could not give them much personal service, for their numerous and widely scattered congregations consumed all their time and energy. These schools were conducted by laymen who knew some of the rudiments of education.

Another person who had much to do with planting the Lutheran Church in Ohio was Rev. Andrew Simon, a brother of Rev. George Simon, whose early death has been noticed elsewhere. In 1808 Mr. Simon, who had been studying for a year past, was granted \$30.00 to enable him to continue his theological studies. At the same meeting the following question came before the Ministerium: "Whether it might be more useful and advantageous that a young man be specially educated and set apart for the work of a traveling preacher, or whether another preacher be

sent out for this work, as is customary." This subject seemed so weighty that further time was taken for deliberation. After an examination of Mr. Simon as to his preparation for the work, the Ministerium granted him a license and made him a traveling "preacher to the small towns and northern parts of Pennsylvania and to the State of Ohio." At the same time there was passed a restriction that no traveling preacher should encroach on the territory of a settled pastor.

Mr. Simon was the first traveling preacher who had not first been a pastor. The general opinion prevailed that one could not properly do such work without training in the pastoral relation, and the practice had hitherto been to send only such out on missionary tours. The experiment in the case of Mr. Simon was quite favorable and was afterwards repeated with other men. Rev. Stauch made a request at the meeting at which Mr. Simon was licensed that the latter be sent to Jefferson and Trumbull counties in Ohio. This request was made because the field had become too large for one man to serve properly. Mr. Simon evidently spent the year in the above-mentioned counties. The people under his care sent their thanks to the Ministerium at its meeting in 1809, and asked that Rev. Simon be made their permanent pastor, which it pleased the Synod to do.

Sometimes these pioneer pastors met face to face some problems hard to solve, especially when there was danger of offending the sense of propriety on the part of the Ministerium. Rev. Simon was troubled with one concerning which he asked the opinion of the Ministerium in 1811. There being few preachers of any denomination in the new State, the people, whose love for the ordinances of the Church was strong, being anxious to enjoy sacramental privileges, often sought them at the hands of ministers of other denominations. Mr. Simon by letter raised the question whether he was permitted to give communion to the Reformed people. The answer from the Ministerium was "that in case of necessity it might be given to any Protestant in good standing, if he cannot have the services of his own pastor."

Rev. Simon was perhaps inclined to occasional departures from strict Lutheran usage. In 1813 three congregations in Ohio whom he was serving complain that Rev. Simon does not abide

by the Old Lutheran form of doctrine, thus showing that the laity of these times were often more churchly than the preachers. The Ministerium took the matter in hand, and after due deliberation directed Pastor Lochman to inform Mr. Simon of the complaints and "admonish him not only to conduct himself more circumspectly but also to abide by the pure old form of doctrine and to make no innovations, or there would be hesitation about renewing his license." Mr. Simon was a pastor in Montgomery county in 1818.

Between 1805 and 1818 many calls were made to the Ministerium for traveling preachers and pastors for the work in Ohio, all of which received attention and were granted as far as it was possible. Besides Forster, Stauch and Simon, there were Tiedeman, Dill, Leist, Henkel and others engaged in missionary work in the State. Paul Henkel was especially active and where once known, always sought for. He did not live in Ohio, but had his residence for a number of years at Point Pleasant, Virginia. He made many visits as a traveling preacher, mostly on his own responsibility, but at times in the employ of the Ministerium. He began his missionary journeys among the sparsely settled districts of Western Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and a little later in Ohio and Indiana. His visits to Ohio were mostly made between the years 1808 and 1815. Unless under the employment of the Ministerium he lived from the little support that might be given him from the scanty means of the people whom he visited. In his little two-wheeled cart he made his journeys through the dense forests of Ohio searching out the sparse settlements, here and there, of Lutheran people and ministering to them, greatly to their comfort and satisfaction. In 1812 the Ministerium fixed his salary at \$33.33 per month for as much time as he might spend in work. Traces and traditions of his visits and labors are found in Southern Ohio as far west as Montgomery and also in Champaign county. During his visits he preached the Word, administered the sacraments, instructed and confirmed the young, organized new congregations and encouraged those he found already in existence. The young churches in Montgomery county sought his services, begging him to cast his lot with them.

Of the early preachers in the then West, Mr. Henkel was the most remarkable and conspicuous. At 22 he became interested in his personal salvation. He devoted himself at once to the work of the ministry, but believed that thorough preparation should be made for it. Under the tuition of Rev. Kruck of Frederickstown, Maryland, he acquired a considerable knowledge of Latin, Greek and other branches. In theology proper he made fair attainments. In the minutes of the Ministerium of 1783, at which time Mr. Henkel was twenty-nine, it states, "A certain Paul Henkel in the name of several congregations earnestly asked for license to preach and baptize children." After an examination in Christian doctrine and Christian character he was granted license, which was accompanied with a number of monitory rules for his future guidance, of which the first one was, "To preach the Word of God in its purity, according to law and Gospel as it is explained in its chief points in the Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books." The license given in 1783 was renewed from year to year until 1792, when he received ordination. In his early ministry he favored the Altered Augsburg Confession and was somewhat inclined to the new conditions that began to influence many of the preachers of all denominations in the West. In 1810 when elected to continue his traveling visits to Ohio and other States, Dr. Helmuth was directed to communicate to him this action, "And at the same time to advise him to have no dealings with camp meetings if he should find such departures from our evangelical ways." This was a period when the camp meetings of Kentucky were creating a great stir among the people west of the mountains. Few, whether in the ministry or among the laity, escaped the influence of this remarkable movement.

After a thorough study of the great Confession Rev. Henkel changed his views and accepted it in its unaltered form and had the twenty-one doctrinal articles published. Commencing with a small work on baptism and the Lord's Supper, which he published in 1809, Mr. Henkel continued his publications, including hymn-books in both German and English and a catechism also in both languages. He died in 1825.

Perhaps no man of his day was so influential as he among the

Lutherans of the West. He was a model in character, in zeal, and in theological views to all who met him, or read his books, and sang his collection of hymns. He not only led five of his six sons into the ministry, but through his efforts many other young men were induced to take the same step. He molded the character of future preachers and gave a trend to early Lutheranism in Ohio. He was a man of clear convictions and a strong teacher as well as preacher. By his own personal labors as a pastor and missionary, by the young men whom he trained for the sacred calling, by his catechisms and other writings, he wielded an influence in many of the Ohio Lutheran Churches not only in his own day, but for years afterwards, making them conservative and close adherents to a strict interpretation of the Augsburg Confession.

While much praise is due the Ministerium of Pennsylvania for its interest in the scattered Lutherans of Ohio we must not forget the interest manifested in another quarter. The Synod of North Carolina was formed in 1803. Rev. Paul Henkel was one of its founders and one of its strong factors. Many Germans from the South found their way into Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. Their appeals came back to the Synod for preachers. In 1813 Rev. Jacob Scherer, a prominent member in the North Carolina Synod went forth as a traveling missionary. He passed through Tygart's Valley, Virginia, looking for neglected Germans, thence to Marietta, Ohio; from thence to Lancaster and Dayton, baptizing both young and old on his journey. At Dayton he preached twice to the Germans, who, he says, were mostly from North Carolina and were ready to build a Church. He spent some time in the country adjacent to Dayton preaching to large congregations and baptizing their children. He makes this comment from what he had seen: "The spiritual condition of Ohio is dark; people of all denominations are intermixed, and, although they have many preachers among them, there appears to be a want of such who have sound doctrine and are of good repute." He was asked by the people about Dayton to become their pastor, but he did not heed their request. Later he settled in the State of Illinois and laid the foundation of many churches in that region.

Numerous requests for pastors came to the Ministerium from all parts of Ohio. The Miami country, the region about Dayton, was particularly earnest in its call for not only one but for several pastors. Germans from Pennsylvania as well as from North Carolina had settled in the Twin Valley and vicinity in considerable numbers. They were prospering greatly in material things but were anxious for regular religious opportunities. In 1809, though without a pastor, the Lutherans joined with the Reformed in building a church for their common uses. With this advantage they had to wait until 1815 before a permanent pastor could be secured. Again it was from Stark county and the Scioto region that the demand was made, all showing that the people had not forgotten the advantages and satisfaction that come from the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the ordinances of the Church.

As a result of these earnest calls Mr. Tiedeman, Mr. Rudisill, and Mr. Dill were sent into the State to look after the religious wants of the people. In 1813 the Ministerium expressed itself as highly gratified at the results of sending traveling preachers to Ohio. By them congregations were collected and organized, some of which became quite flourishing. Already six to eight pastors were located and had found plenty of work. Nor did all the early ministers come from the East. Besides the Simon brothers, others who were residents of Ohio and who had felt the call to labor in the Lord's vineyard, were recommended and finally admitted into the gospel ministry. Mr. John Reinhart, who afterwards labored in Jefferson county, Mr. Anthony Weyer, who served congregations in Belmont, Jefferson, Guernsey, and Muskingum counties, Mr. Abram Schneider and Mr. Weygandt were among those received into the Ministerium of 1815 who could be claimed as products of the Church in the West. These young men were brought usually to the notice of that body by petition from congregations who desired their services, and if they could pass a satisfactory examination they were sent back with the injunction to be diligent in study, and to remain in the fields to which they were severally called and sent.

An important movement for the Lutheran Church in Ohio occurred in 1812. Up to this time it was necessary for the min-

isters of the State having synodical connection, at great expense of time and money, to make a long and tedious journey across the mountains to meet the Ministerium in either Pennsylvania or Maryland. When there, they found many of the questions with which the Ministerium had to deal of little interest to the members from the West. To avoid this long and expensive journey and to apply themselves to the consideration of questions with which they were immediately concerned, the brethren of the West felt that they should have a meeting of their own in which they could discuss such subjects. Such a meeting was held in Washington, Pennsylvania. At that time there were eleven ministers west of the mountains who were members of the Ministerium. This meeting was held in the charge of Rev. Weygandt on the 17th day of October in 1812. There were present Revs. Stauch, Forster, Meyer, Huet, Reinhart, Leist, Weygandt, and Heim. Those absent are mentioned as Revs. Steck, Simon, Butler, and Paul Henkel. Another meeting was held in Fairfield county, Ohio, in 1813, and one in Columbiana county in 1814. This latter conference asks the Ministerium for three things:

1. "Whether the special conference might be represented at the meeting of the Ministerium by one preacher and one delegate.

2. "Whether the Conference may examine sermons and diaries of the candidates without sending the same to the Ministerium for examination.

3. "Whether they, as they think proper, may permit their candidates to take charge of congregations and likewise change the congregations in their licenses."

The first and third requests were granted. To the second they answered, "That the representatives for each time from the western district shall bring with them to the Ministerium the sermons and diaries of the candidates for the purpose of examination." The Ministerium was not yet willing that oversight in the training of ministers should pass out of their hands.

In 1817 the special conference of Ohio asked that they might form their own Ministerium. This petition was denied, but it was answered that they might draw up a plan by which partic-

ular difficulties might be removed. Such plan was presented, and it was voted by the Ministerium that the ordained ministers of the special conference in Ohio, or a majority of them, be allowed to license applicants as candidates or catechists, and renew the license from year to year, but that each candidate and catechist shall send one sermon and his diary to the Ministerium meeting each year. The examinations were no light and easy thing. The members of the Ministerium stood for thorough indoctrination of all preachers admitted into their body; hence they held control of candidates and catechists as long as possible.

In 1818 the western brethren resolved to do what had been denied them the year previous, namely, to form a synod of their own. For this purpose they met on the 14th day of September at Somerset, Perry county, Ohio, and founded the Ohio Synod. There were present: Rev. John M. Steck, Greensburg, Pa.; Rev. Johannes Stauch, New Lisbon, O.; Rev. Paul Henkel, Point Pleasant, Va.; Rev. John Casper Dill, Germantown, O.; Rev. Henry Weygandt, Washington county, Pa.; Rev. Jacob Leist, Pickaway county, O.; Rev. Johannes Reinhart, Jefferson county, O.; Rev. Heinrich Huet, Somerset, O.; Rev. M. J. Steck, Lancaster, O.; Rev. Schneider, New Philadelphia, O.; Rev. Wilhelm Myer, Canton, O.; Rev. Mohler, Kittanning, Pa.; Rev. Andrew Simon, Montgomery county, O.; Rev. S. Man, Montgomery county, O. Rev. John Stauch was chosen President; Rev. Paul Henkel was chosen Secretary; and Rev. Weygandt was chosen Treasurer. The reports showed: communicants, 2,551; schools, 54; and preachers 14. They recognized three grades in the office of minister, pastor, candidate or licentiate, and catechist.

The new synod licensed two men, Carl Henkel and M. Wachter.

About the time of the organization of the Ohio Synod the special conference thought it important to set forth its views that its Lutheranism might not be called into question. There had crept in among the churches men from Germany, some of loose theological views and of doubtful morals. They had as yet no synodical connection but were posing as Lutherans. They were going about disseminating their modified doctrines to the hurt of the churches. To meet the influence of these false

teachers, a statement of the conference on baptism, the Lord's Supper, conversion and prayer was written and published by the secretary of the synod, Rev. Paul Henkel.

The Synod was urgently requested to send representatives to the meeting of the first General Synod. At the second meeting of that body in 1822 two delegates were sent; and it was decided to unite with it. It failed to send delegates to the several succeeding meetings of that body. After the opening of the Seminary at Gettysburg it refused all further overtures because of dissatisfaction with the theology taught there and which to them seemed to be dominant in the General Synod.

There were some problems with which the Ohio Synod had to struggle early in its history. The first was the language question. The Pennsylvanians, Marylanders, and Virginians who were transplanted to Ohio soil found themselves under conditions which made the use of the English language a necessity for themselves and their children. By 1826 there were so many churches and ministers who used the English language that the Synod was compelled to have its minutes printed in both German and English. In 1827 Revs. Andrew Henkel and M. J. Steck were appointed a committee to translate the Catechism into English; but in place of such translation, they recommended the one in use by the General Synod, and their report was adopted. They also resolved to use the English hymn book published by the Pennsylvania Ministerium. By 1836 the struggle for a more extensive use of the English language had become quite urgent. An English Synod was formed by the Ohio Synod that year. This new body was to hold close connection with the German Synod, send a delegate to its meetings annually, transmit a copy of its proceedings to that body, aid with one-half of the moneys contributed to its synodical treasury the Theological Seminary at Columbus, and recognize the Augsburg Confession of faith as the unalterable symbol of the doctrine of the Synod. It was later agreed that there should be an English professor in the Seminary. Before this last action could be consummated the permission for such professor was repealed, which action led to the withdrawal of the English ministers from the Synod and the formation of the English Synod of Ohio. This new Synod sent

delegates to the General Synod in 1843 and commenced proceedings for the establishment of an institution of learning which resulted in the founding of Wittenberg College in 1845.

The second problem that confronted the Synod of Ohio from its very beginning was that of missionary work in Ohio and adjacent States. It must expect less from other Synods now in the matter of assistance and in a measure take care of its own field. In 1820 it licensed and appointed as a traveling preacher Rev. Christian Espich, who soon after visited Clark, Champaign, Preble and other counties and laid the foundation for numerous churches, some of which were afterwards served by Rev. Henry Heinecke, whose fame as a preacher and pastor is surpassed by none in the Miami Valley.

About 1820 Rev. D. Schuh visited the scattered Germans about Sandusky and founded churches. But it was impossible to find enough men to follow up the places opened for work; hence Highland, Guernsey, Belmont and other counties were almost entirely lost to the Lutherans. In Cincinnati, where a congregation was formed as early as 1812, the guiding hand of the Ohio pastors could not be exerted; hence for almost fifty years the development of German churches there was along independent lines and they were of little force in building up the Lutheran Church in Ohio.

The third problem of the Synod of Ohio was the securing and preparing men for the ministry. Now and then young men signified their desire to enter the holy calling, but they were poor; neither was there a school in which they might prepare themselves. In 1825 an effort was made to secure a library for such young men, but the project failed for want of means. It was then voted to take up collections for their support, and that these persons should be divided out among the older pastors for instruction. Pastor Leist of Pickaway county took some students and Pastor Schuh of Sandusky took some, but in two or three years the plan came to an end for lack of financial support. In 1827 a committee was appointed to find a solution of the difficulty. After two years of consideration the committee reported that the time for the establishment of a school had not yet come, as the means were not at hand to support it. But in 1830 it

was resolved to wait no longer. It was decided to establish a school under the title Theological School of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ohio, to be located for the present at Canton, Ohio. Rev. Wm. Schmidt, pastor of the Church at Canton, who had been licensed in 1828, offered to conduct it without charge for his services for one year. An assistant was to be given him.

Rev. Schmidt was born in Germany, educated in theology at Halle and came to this country in 1826. For one year he was editor of a paper in Philadelphia. He then came to Holmes county, Ohio, and gathered the scattered Lutherans into a Church organization near Weinsburg in that county. He was undoubtedly the best educated man among his colleagues and so best qualified to take charge of the new school. Rev. Schmidt drew up an elaborate course of study which covered a period of three years. It included German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Logic, Psychology and Ethics in addition to other more practical branches. The Seminary was opened in October, 1830, with two students. In 1832 it was removed to Columbus, where it has since remained, although changed to several different locations in that city. By the establishment of this school it was hoped that the days of greater prosperity for the Lutherans in Ohio were at hand, but the failure to secure unity of feeling and purpose prevented the full realization of such hope.

Springfield, Ohio.

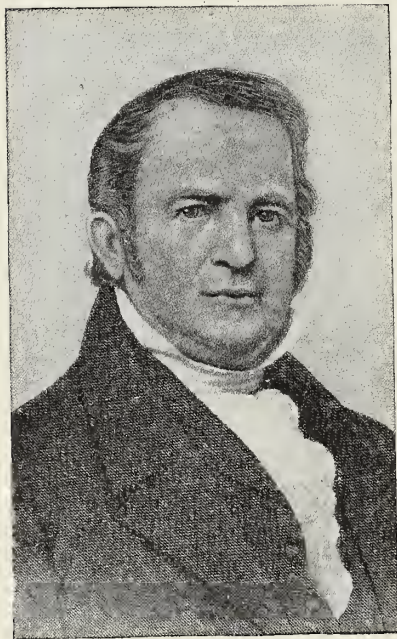


GENERAL SIMON PERKINS.

BY WALTER W. SPOONER.

From advance proofs of the sixth volume of Randall and Ryan's History of Ohio. By permission of the publishers, the Century History Company, New York.

Simon Perkins, of Warren, was one of the earliest and most influential promoters of settlement and progress in northeastern



Ohio, and a citizen of distinguished reputation and usefulness in varied activities and affairs. A native of Connecticut, he first came to Ohio in the summer of 1798 on a commission to survey, explore and sell the large undeveloped holdings of the Erie Land Company in the Western Reserve. Becoming a permanent resident of Warren some years later, he was the foremost man of that community until his death in 1844. He was long engaged in land transactions of great volume and scope, with especial reference to the settlement and development of the new country; was a pioneer in financial interests and management; founded the city of Akron; served with distinction as a brigadier-general on the northwestern

frontier at a critical period in the War of 1812; held responsible civil positions, and was a trusted representative and adviser of the United States government in western affairs.

General Perkins was born in Lisbon, Connecticut, September 17, 1771, son of Captain Simon and Olive (Douglass) Perkins. Through both his parents he was descended from early and notable Puritan families of New England. In the paternal line his first American ancestor was John Perkins, who came over with Roger Williams; and on his mother's side he traced his descent from William Douglass, one of the company from Boston that founded New London, Connecticut. His father was a captain in the Revolutionary War, and died in the service. Several of his maternal uncles held officers' commissions in that conflict.

At an early age he assumed the responsibility for the administration of his father's estate, consisting partly of lands which had been in possession of the family since it first settled in Connecticut in the seventeenth century. From the experience thus obtained he became familiar with business forms and methods, particularly as related to landed property. In 1795, when about twenty-four years old, he removed to Owego, New York, at that time one of the outposts of settlement on the western frontier. There he was busily engaged for some three years in connection with land sales and other matters incidental to the opening of a new region.

After the acquisition by the Connecticut Land Company of the proprietary right to the Western Reserve—with the exception of the "Fire lands,"—by purchase from the state of Connecticut (1795), various projects for settlements on the shores of Lake Erie and in that general section began to develop. In 1797 some of the principal members of the Connecticut Land Company, residing in Windham and New London Counties, Connecticut, united their stock holdings and formed a new organization under the name of the Erie Land Company.

On the 14th of April, 1798, Moses Cleaveland, Joseph Perkins, and Daniel L. Coit, as "agents and trustees for the Erie Company," entered into a formal agreement with Simon Perkins, by which he was commissioned to proceed to the company's lands, make surveys and explorations, effect sales to the best advantage, and generally discharge the duties of a trusted representative with large discretionary powers. He was directed

to start from Owego by the 1st of July following and continue on the lands for three months at least, and was authorized to employ all necessary assistants. While the details of transactions were left to his judgment, it was stipulated that nothing should be sold for less than a dollar an acre. The agreement embodied specific arrangements for the acquisition by him, in his own right, of one thousand acres of the property. In a personal communication to him of the same date he was more particularly instructed and advised concerning the work to be done.

Both these important documents—in a perfect state of preservation,—bearing the signatures of all the parties in interest, are now in the custody of the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland. The same society also has in its possession a number of subsequent agreements between the Erie Land Company and Simon Perkins, various autograph accounts of the latter with the company, and a large and most valuable collection of the private papers of General Perkins, covering most of his active career.

In the month of June, 1798, Mr. Perkins left Owego, accompanied by James Pumpelly, whom he had selected as his chief assistant. They went by the way of Cayuga and Ontario lakes to Buffalo, where they obtained a batteau, and thence coasted up Lake Erie. Arriving at the Grand River on the 4th of July—just two years after the historic landing of the Cleveland party some miles farther west,—they debarked and started for the interior. A camp was established four miles south of what is now the city of Painesville, and steps were at once taken to survey a road—the first in northern Ohio. It ran by the camp, and at that point the original name, "The Girdled Road," is still retained; farther west the road becomes the far-famed Euclid Avenue. On June 14, 1912, the New Connecticut Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution placed tablets at the sites of Perkins Camp and the Girdled Road.

Mr. Perkins assigned the surveying part of the work to Pumpelly and others whom he had employed, and himself undertook the more important business of examining the country, determining as to the relative advantages, values, and prospects of the lands, and in general acquiring the necessary information for

the financial results that he expected to derive later. After three months of diligent work he returned East and made his report to the company in Connecticut. This proved so satisfactory that he was again sent out the following year, under an arrangement vesting in him the entire agency for the lands; and he continued on the same basis for several years afterward, spending the summers on the Reserve and the winters in Connecticut.

Upon his marriage in 1804 he decided to locate permanently in Ohio, and with his bride journeyed to Warren, then a place of only sixteen log habitations. He continued to reside there for the rest of his life, and, as already remarked, was a leading and most influential citizen. Devoting his energies principally to the land business, his extensive knowledge, discriminating judgment, and high integrity secured for him a larger share of patronage from non-resident proprietors than any other man in Ohio. In the year 1815 he paid, as agent or owner, one-seventh of the entire amount of land taxes collected by the state government. In his transaction it was his invariable policy to encourage, favor, and assist the pioneer and indeed every purchaser acting in good faith, by liberality of terms and leniency of treatment. Thus many acquired homes by his kindly co-operation and even more kindly forbearance. The early development of the eastern portion of the Western Reserve was due to him far more than to any other man. It may justly be said that he contributed something, and frequently much, toward starting or stimulating the development of every community in that section which arose during the period of his business activity. He founded and laid out the village of Akron in 1825, and six years later had a leading part in establishing North Akron. To the latter locality he donated ground for public buildings, parks, schools, and churches.

Before becoming a citizen of Ohio his prominence and usefulness in promoting settlement and his thorough acquaintance with the country in process of development had brought him to the favorable notice of the government officials in Washington. In 1801 the first mail route northwest of the Ohio River was instituted, running from Pittsburg to Warren via Beaver, Youngstown, and Canfield. Mr. Perkins was appointed as the first postmaster at Warren on the 24th of October, 1801, and he retained

that position until October, 1829. After Gideon Granger became postmaster-general in 1802, Mr. Perkins was frequently consulted for information and advice respecting the laying out of new routes, the opening of other post offices, and the selection of appointees. His intimate familiarity with local circumstances and knowledge of individuals all over the Reserve enabled him to be of great service to the department and also to secure the best results for the various communities and the public.

In December, 1809, Postmaster-General Granger wrote to him in the following somewhat remarkable terms: "You cannot be ignorant of the unpleasant aspect of public affairs between this nation and Great Britain, nor of the vigorous preparations making for war in upper Canada. In this state of things it has become necessary to establish a line of expresses through your country to Detroit. We avail ourselves of the energy of your talents at this crisis. I have to solicit you (and even more to express my opinion that it is your duty) to depart immediately for Detroit. I know of no person whose exertions would at this time be as satisfactory to the government, and however inconvenient the discharge of this duty may be to yourself, it is what you owe to your country and to the southern shores of Lake Erie in particular." Thus appealed to, he set forth without delay for Detroit, and the important work confined to him was performed with singular efficiency and thoroughness. At that period the country west and south of the Reserve was Indian territory, except tracts twelve miles square at Fort Miami and two miles square on the Sandusky River, which were ceded by the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Mr. Perkins, in addition to laying out the desired route from Cleveland to Detroit, conceived and brought to completion the project of securing a cession of land for a road from the Reserve to the Maumee River. He proposed the matter to several influential Indians and obtained the approval of Governor Hull at Detroit. The treaty of Brownsville was the substantial result. It was on the basis of this cession that the turnpike road from Perrysburg to Fremont was built.

He was commissioned brigadier-general in the fourth division of Ohio militia, under Major-General Elijah Wadsworth, on the 31st of May, 1808. In that capacity he put into the field and

commanded the third brigade of the division after the breaking out of hostilities in 1812. The surprising and pusillanimous surrender of General Hull exposed the whole northwest to imminent danger, and in the emergency General Perkins demonstrated great promptness and signal military ability. Being assigned to command the troops detailed from the Reserve to protect the frontier, he marched to the Huron River and thence sent scouting expeditions to all quarters where it was apprehended hostile Indians might be gathering. Although not under the necessity of leading any movement, either aggressive or defensive, while he remained in command, his thorough system of information and general exercise of his responsibilities were most strongly commended by his superior officers. When the term of enlistment of the militia expired, General William H. Harrison having meantime been reinforced by troops sufficient to maintain his position, General Perkins retired from the service. On that occasion General Harrison in an official communication expressed high appreciation of the zeal and ability with which he had performed his duty. General Perkins was tendered by President Madison a commission as colonel in the regular army, but declined it on account of the claims of his family and his many private obligations.

He was the principal organizer of the Western Reserve Bank of Warren, chartered November 24, 1813, and served as its president from the beginning until April 5, 1838. This was the first bank established in the Western Reserve, and it survived all other banks in the state which entered the field before or with it.

On the 7th of February, 1826, he was appointed by the legislature a member of the State Board of Canal Fund Commissioners. By successive reappointments he continued in that honorable position until February 13, 1838, when he resigned.

As a citizen General Perkins was at all times conspicuous for public spirit, earnest support of religious, educational and moral interest and causes, and the highest standards and soundest integrity in both his business and private relations. His death occurred at Warren on the 6th of November, 1844.

He married, in Connecticut, March 18, 1804, Nancy Bishop. She was born in Lisbon, Connecticut, January 24, 1780, and died

in Warren, Ohio, April 24, 1862. A lady of most estimable character and wide usefulness, she is held in honored memory in the community where she so long resided. General and Mrs. Perkins were the parents of nine children—Simon, Anna Maria, Olive Douglas, Alfred, Martha, Charles, Joseph, Jacob, and Henry Bishop. Their present descendants in the Perkins line are comprised in the several families which sprang from their four sons who survived to manhood, Simon, of Akron; Joseph, of Cleveland; Jacob, of Warren and Cleveland, and Henry Bishop, of Warren—all of whom were men of prominence, forceful ability, and high character.



GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES IN THE HISTORY OF MILAN, OHIO.

BY CHARLES G. SHATZER.

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Any one who seeks to glean the facts of the local history of northwestern Ohio for the period of the '40's and '50's from conversation with the men whose experience reaches into that period, will hear repeated frequently the name, Milan. If interest prompts the question: Where and what was Milan?, he will be told in terms of marked respect of a market center of long ago, of a village in northern Ohio to which yearly trips were made for the purpose of marketing the grain of the region to the south.

A visit to the village will lead him to the south central part of Erie County, and there, upon the east slope of the valley of the Huron river, will be found a village of less than 1,000 inhabitants, many comfortable homes in beautiful lawns along shaded streets. But the visitor will look in vain for the bustle and activity of the grain marketing port of which he has been told. He will hear only of the glory that is past.

Milan lies just north of the south line of Erie County, midway between the east and west limits and about twelve miles southeast of the port of Sandusky.

The prominence which the village had attained at one time as a market can be traced in large measure to certain geographic influences.

1. A broad, triangular hinterland of rich agricultural land.
2. A location upon a stream in part navigable, which, when aided by a short canal, made Milan an inland, lake port.
3. Milan is located near the southern border of a sandy belt which extends to the Lake and across which all of the wagon roads must pass in order to reach the ports along the south shore of Lake Erie. Even today these roads are not in-

viting lines of travel; at the end of the summer season when the dry weather has left the sand loose and the roads comparatively heavy. The roads which approach Milan from the south are of clay bed nearly to the village and are in the best of condition at the time the grain is ready for the market. The canal offered to this small inland town the advantages of cheap transportation, and the elimination of a haul over exceptionally bad roads. Milan took advantage of the position along a stream capable of being utilized for canal purposes.

The causes of decline of Milan as a port were inherent in the limitations of the influences, geographical, which contributed to the rise.

1. Elimination of the hinterland by the construction of the Mansfield and Sandusky, and the Cleveland, Norwalk and Toledo R. R.'s. The lack of sufficient drawing power of the limited port facilities of Milan as compared with the natural port, Sandusky, to attract these railroads.

2. Increase of the size of the boats beyond the facilities of Milan.

3. Over confidence of the citizens of the village in the efficacy of the canal and a lack of foresight into the possibilities of the railroads.

Milan is located upon the site of Petquoting, the largest of the indian villages in the region. The Moravian Missionaries had established themselves in the Indian village in 1787 in large enough numbers to be of influence. Six white men erected the first log cabin in the village in 1810.¹ In 1808, Jared Ward purchased a part of 1800 acres, owned by David Abbott, and was the first settler interested in the soil. By the time of the opening of the War of 1812, Milan Township contained twenty-three families and forty persons capable of bearing arms.²

The village of Beatty (Now Milan) was laid out in 1814 by E. Merry. Mr. Merry and Isaac Tupper erected a saw and grist mill near the town and thus established the first industry

¹History of Huron and Erie Counties, O. W. W. Williams, 1879. p. 459.

²Hist. Col. of Ohio. Henry Howe, Norwalk, O., 1896. Vol. 1, p. 578.

which contributed to the growth of the village. The mill was constructed in 1816 and, being one of the first mills in that part of the state, drew grain for a distance of 50 miles.

The period preceeding 1815 was one of constant struggle with the Indians for a foothold in the northwest. The open lines of travel and the opposition of the English and the Indians caused immigration during the War of 1812 and for some years after, to follow the Ohio River.³ The end of the War and the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 turned the tide towards the inland seas.⁴

Milan (Beatty of the period) was not of sufficient importance to receive notice in the Ohio Gazetteer of 1821. Sandusky is spoken of as containing two stores and being the shipping point of Lake Erie.

In 1824, Milan could boast: 32 houses, many very good; 2 brick houses; 4 mercantile stores; 1 tavern; 2 tanneries; 3 blacksmith shops; 2 tailor shops; 2 cabinet-maker shops; 1 goldsmith shop; 1 potter; 1 shoe-maker's shop; 2 wagon-maker's shops; 1 saddler; 1 lawyer's office; 280 inhabitants; 2 distilleries; 1 sawmill; 1 grist mill; 1 oil mill; 1 carding and clothing mill.⁵

A comparison of Milan, Huron and Sandusky for the year 1827 shows:

	⁶ Milan.	⁶ Huron.	⁷ Sandusky.
Male inhabitants over twenty-one years	187	57	...
Whole number of inhabitants.....	675	211	594

Milan was the largest village in the country and the trading post of the fur trade. The establishment of the Moravian Mission introduced an influence which gave a measure of protection to the settlers and thus, the impetus of an early start to the village. Milan soon lost this early advantage. In 1839 the

³ Statistical Atlas of the U. S. Twelfth Census, Plates 4, 5 and 6.

⁴ Our Inland Seas. Shipping and Commerce for the Three Centuries. J. O. Mills, 1910.

⁵ Fire Lands Pioneer. New Series. Vol. 2, June, 1884. (Copied from the Sandusky *Clarion* of 1824).

⁶ Fire Lands Pioneer. Old Series. June, 1864. (Copied from the Norwalk, O., *Reporter*, of June 9th, 1827).

⁷ History of Erie Co., O., Aldrich, p. 236.

three villages showed populations of: Milan 600-700,⁸ Huron 1,200⁹, Sandusky 2,480¹⁰. The citizens of Milan evidently appreciated the competition of their near rivals as early as 1824. In that year, a movement was inaugurated to construct a canal from Milan to a point three miles toward the mouth of the Huron River. The idea was that Milan could retain, by this means, the trade which she already had and further draw upon the trade of the region to the south. The movement suggests that the people recognized the drawing power of the harbor of Huron and Sandusky and expressed the evaluation which Milan placed upon retaining the trade which had been coming to her docks.

A commission was created and estimates of the cost of constructing a canal were made in 1824. The Ohio Legislature granted a charter to the canal company in 1828 and actual work was begun in 1832. The canal was completed in 1839 and was practically as designed by the commission of 1824.

NOTE—(Formal statement of the authority invested in the Commission by the State of Ohio).

"The engineers and the acting committee having carefully looked the ground over which the canal will pass, marked out the route. At the commencement of this, they find a very convenient situation for the summit pond, which may be formed by a very small dam over the Huron, which from estimates from actual experience can be constructed for \$300 with an ample supply of water for all seasons of the year. With this expense the summit pond will be perfectly secure from flood."

"It is found by actual measurement of the fall of water the whole distance of the contemplated canal, that it will be seven feet and six inches. The whole ground over which the canal will pass is bottom land, and the easiest kind of aquateneus earth for the excavation. The whole distance is three miles and entirely of the above description of earth. From excavations actually made, in the same kind of earth, it is found that the excavation can be made at an expense of 6 cts. a sq. yard, and at this rate a boat navigation of four feet deep and 30 ft. in width, may be made at an expenditure of \$1,500 per mile, and consequently the three miles of the excavation, may be made for the sum of \$4,500. Add to this the dam and the excavation of the summit pond \$300 equals \$4,800. It is believed that two locks may be necessary—one at or near the summit pond and one at the entrance of the canal from the river, at an ex-

⁸ Ohio Gazetteer, 1839. Warren Jenkins, p. 301.

⁹ Idem. p. 234.

¹⁰ Idem. p. 396.

penditure of \$300 each, to which add the above and we have the sum of \$5,400. Some grubbing of timber and other contingent expenses, say \$400, which added to the above, makes \$5,800.

It is believed that this expense will be more than counter-balanced by the great advantage which the thriving village of Milan will derive from the canal. Nearly one-half of the above sum is already offered to be advanced by responsible individuals.

P. H. HOPKINS,
CHARLES WHEATON,

GEO. W. CHOATE,
MR. BATES OF N. Y.,
GEO. LOCKWOOD,

Engineers.

Com.

—*The Firelands Pioneer*. New Series. Vol. 2, June, 1884.

(Copied from the Sandusky, O., Clarion, May 5th, 1824).

The canal was three miles long and extended from Milan to the head of navigation on the Huron river at 'Fries' Landing. Ordinarily the length is stated as being 10 mi. This statement includes the portion of the river between Fries' Landing and the Lake, which had been cleared and improved.

The final cost was \$23,392.¹¹ The calculated cost at the inception of the work was \$5,800. This amount was thought to be sufficient for excavating the bed, building the locks and excavating the summit pond, thus providing for three miles of canal with a width of thirty feet and a depth for boat navigation of four feet.¹² The receipts from tolls were \$102,000, and \$20,000 were paid the stockholders in dividends.¹³

H. S. Tanner speaking of the canal, said: [It] opens a communication for the steamboats from the head of navigation on the Huron river to Milan, a distance of three miles.¹⁴

The canal when completed was capable of accommodating vessels of from 200 tons to 250 tons burden.¹⁵

¹¹ Milan Tribune, September 2, 1843. Milan, Ohio.

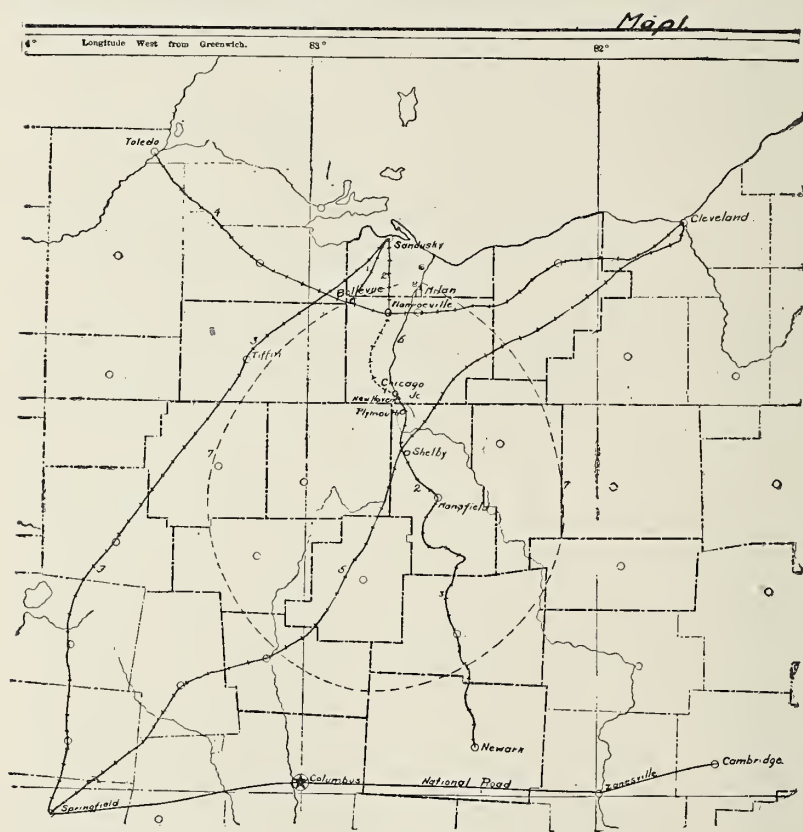
¹² The Fire Lands Pioneer. New Series, Vol. 2, June, 1884. (Copied from the Sandusky Clarion of May 5th, 1824).

¹³ History of the Firelands. Comprising Huron and Erie Counties, Ohio. W. W. Williams. 1879.

¹⁴ A Description of the Railroads and Canals of the U. S. H. S. Tanner, New York, 1840. p. 210.

¹⁵ Historical Collection of Ohio, Henry Howe, 1908, Vol. I, p. 580.

The vessel Kewanee 150 tons, was the first vessel to reach Milan via the canal. The vessel reached the docks July 4th, 1839 and was welcomed by a procession of the citizens.¹⁶



MILAN REGION.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Bellevue R. R. | 5. C. C. C. and St. L. |
| 2. Mansfield, Sandusky and Newark R. R. | 6. Huron River. |
| 3. Lake Erie and Mad River R. R. | 7. General Boundary of the area marking-eting produce to Milan during 1830-1840-1850. |
| 4. Cleveland and Toledo R. R. | 8. Milan Canal. |

The canal construction was a successful attempt at moving the lake port from the lake shore ten miles inland and had an important influence upon the development of Milan. The com-

¹⁶ History of Erie Co., O., Aldrich, 1889, p. 498.

mercial advantage derived was only temporary, for it depended upon the exportation of agricultural products of the region and the consequent importation of goods from the eastern markets.

Transportation by wagon was expensive. Ten miles was a good day's haul for the loaded teams. Much of the grain marketed in Milan came from the ten or twelve counties to the south. Some of it came from the region so far south as the National Road. (See Map 1.) The average price paid in Milan for wheat per bushel in 1843 was \$0.66½-.67,¹⁷ from 1845-'48¹⁸ \$0.86-.91; corn 1843, \$0.26½¹⁷ 1845-48 \$0.28½-34½; flour in 1845-'48 \$4.26-\$4.74 bbl.¹⁸

During the same period wheat could be bought in the interior for \$0.25-.40 per bu., \$0.30-.45 a bu. was the cost of transportation to market. Wheat raised in Franklin County and marketed in Milan, a distance of 100 miles, paid \$24-\$30 per load of 40 bu. for raising the grain and spending a week's time of a man and a team of from four to seven horses in transporting it to market. The Milan canal saved the produce at least a day's haul. The cost of moving freight over common roads was \$0.15 per ton mile. The cost upon the Ohio canals, established by the Board of Canal Commissioners, Columbus, O., Feb. 21, 1833 for each 1,000 lbs. and in the same proportion for any lesser or greater weight of

		Cents.	Mills.
Flour, bread or other articles {	For each mile not exceed-		
manufactured from flour... {	ing 100 miles.....	0	7
Wheat, salt, etc..... {	Each mi. in addition to		
	100 mi. not exceeding 200		
	miles ¹⁹	0	5

The cost of moving a wagon load of 40 bu. of wheat each mile within a radius of 100 miles was 1.68 cts. as compared with 18 cents by wagon, which meant to the producer a saving of 16.32 cts. per load mile.

¹⁷ Milan Tribune, 1843.

¹⁸ Milan Tribune, 1845-'48.

¹⁹ Patent Office Report, 1847. Ex. Doc. No. 54, p. 566.

This reduction in the cost of haul and saving of time made Milan rather attractive as a market. Transportation was the large problem of the time.

"Three nearly coincident improvements contributed to the rapid development of this section of the country, to-wit, The Milan Canal, and the Mad River and the Monroeville and Sandusky R. R. The first of these, for some years, attracted the greatest amount of interior trade, some idea of which may be formed when it is stated that from 1824-1850, Milan was the chief market for 10-12 counties. At one time, it was one of the greatest grain markets of the state, being exceeded by Massillon only."²⁰

The hinterland included Huron, Richland, Knox, Marion, Crawford, part of Seneca and Lorain Counties, no doubt Ashland, Morrow and several other counties.²¹ The trade extended south to Franklin and Champaign counties and wagons from 60 to 80 miles towards the south were not uncommon in the streets of Milan.

Table I shows the extent of the export trade of the port for a succession of years:

TABLE I.
EXPORTS OF THE PORT OF MILAN, O.

Products.	²² 1842	²³ 1843	²³ 1844	²⁴ 1846	²⁵ 1847	²⁶ 1851
Wheat, bu.....	368,255	506,966	645,832	650,229	917,880	258,778
Corn, bu.....	27,157	*7,706	.....	17,844	137,935	220,264
Flour, bbl.....	5,163	13,629	10,591	1,257	7,182	1,763
Wool, lbs.....	893	30,840	.....	.....	.....	.....

²⁰ Fire Lands Pioneer. N. S. Vol. 7, p. 43, Clarke Waggoner.

²¹ Ohio Gazetteer, Warren Jenkins, Columbus, 1841.

²² The Milan Tribune, Dec. 14th, 1843.

²³ Sandusky Clarion, Dec. 28th, 1844.

²⁴ Patent Office Report. 1847. p. 586.

²⁵ Idem.

²⁶ Sandusky Weekly Register, Jan. 10th, 1852.

* The Milan Tribune of Nov. 2, 1843, states that 8,006 bu. had been shipped to that date.

In one week 98,000 bu. of wheat were received there from teams,²⁷ twenty sailing vessels were loaded in a day and between 30,000 and 40,000 bu. of grain placed upon board.

In 1847, Ohio produced 16,800,000 bu. of wheat²⁸ of which 917,880 bu. or 5.46% were marked via Milan. In the same year 7,182 bbl. of flour, which represented approximately 32,319 bu. of wheat were marketed through the same port. Of the production of wheat for that year 5,500,000 bu. were needed for home consumption,²⁹ which means that 10,250,000 bu. were available for export of which nearly 10% went east by way of Milan. In 1839 eleven warehouses with a storage capacity of 300,000 bu. were hardly sufficient to care for the grain.³⁰ Later when the village was at its height commercially there were fourteen warehouses at the docks. The exports were the direct products of the soil or the outgrowths of activities associated with agriculture. Consequently, the fluctuation of the yearly prosperity of the village was commensurate with the yearly production of the hinterland which did its marketing thru the merchants of the village. When the season produced a short crop, Milan's bulk of business registered the extent of the crop failure, and, what is more important, when the territory contributing to Milan's material prosperity was extensively reduced by the railroads offering more accessible transportation and ready communication with better harbors, Milan suffered from that reduction in the territory contributing to her wealth.

Great quantities of other produce passed thru the port as may be seen in table 2. But most of this was so inherently associated with the grain trade that when the traffic in that bulky article was reduced the other trade also declined.

²⁷ The Fire Lands Pioneer, N. S. Vol. 1, p. 43.

²⁸ Sandusky Commercial Register, Aug. 8th, 1855.

²⁹ Patent Office Report. 1847. p. 547.

³⁰ Fire Lands Pioneer. N. S. Vol. 13, p. 719.

TABLE 2.

PORT OF MILAN.		1842	1843
<i>Exports.</i>			
Wheat	Bushels	368,255	506,966
Corn	"	27,157	7,706
Oats	"	5,570	907
Pork	Barrels	8,254	4,435
Flour	"	5,163	13,629
Ashes	"	715	1,647
High Wines.....	"	582	876
Beef	"	8	622
Timothy seed.....	"	268	1,553
Tallow .....	"	.....	62
Lard	"	207	420
Lard	Kegs	197	447
Butter	"	586	807
Butter	Barrels	118	22
Flax seed.....	"	.....	230
Clover seed.....	"	49	33
Hides	Pounds	.....	17,900
Wool .....	"	.....	30,000
Feathers	"	366	1,361
Staves		456,576	724,048
Hogs, alive.....	Tons	.....	36
<i>Imports.</i>		1842	1843
Merchandise	Pounds	830,135	2,652,702
Salt	Barrels	11,312	10,630
Fish	"	428	940
Plaster	"	167	413
Lumber	Feet	68,131	71,589
Shingles	M.	707	319
Shingle bolts.....	Cords	79	126
Stone	"	15	10
219 vessels arrived in 1843. ³¹			

During the week Aug. 12th,-25th, 1845, twelve vessels entered and cleared from the port. The bulk of the cargoes of the vessels entering consisted of; merchandise, salt and shingle bolts. Five of them were in ballast. When they cleared they carried; wheat, staves, pork, butter, general merchandise and ashes.³²

³¹ The Milan Tribune, December 4th, 1843.

³² The Milan Tribune, Aug. 27th, 1845. Milan, Ohio.

There were fourteen arrivals and thirteen clearances in the week beginning Sept. 4th, and ending Sept. 10th, 1848. The cargoes of the arrivals consisted of general merchandise, salt, water lime and plank. Three were in ballast. When they cleared they carried: wheat, pork, corn, oats, wool, butter, flour, leather, shingles and cheese.³³ These are representative weeks of the fall. The total value of the export trade in 1844 was \$825,098, imports \$634,711, of which \$585,300 consisted of general merchandise.³⁴ The estimated value of the export trade in 1847 was \$1,250,000.³⁵ By 1851, the export trade had dwindled to \$435,816,³⁶ while the imports amounted to \$690,185.³⁷

Sandusky, on the other hand, was developing her trade under the influence of her railroads and harbor. In 1844 the exports from that port were valued at \$813,830³⁸ the imports at \$44,729.75. In 1851 the exports amounted to \$6,459,659 and the imports to \$15,985,357.³⁹ The extent of the trade which Milan enjoyed in the late forties may be attributed to the inefficient facilities of the railroads and upon the inertia of the farmers along the route in availing themselves of the new method of transportation. There is no doubt that the utilization of the railroads must have lagged behind the construction four or five years. The above stated value of the exports and the imports as well as the quantitative figures of table 1 indicate clearly how effectively the railroads eliminated Milan as a port when the farmers realized their efficiency and availability.

The crest of the commercial prosperity was reached in the late forties. Graph 1 and Table 1. (Note.)

Ohio was a pioneer railroad state and many projects for

³³ Idem. Sept. 13th, 1845.

³⁴ Sandusky Clarion, Dec. 28th, 1844. Sandusky, Ohio.

³⁵ Patent Office Report, 1847, p. 586. Washington, D. C.

³⁶ Sandusky Weekly Register, Jan. 10th, 1852. Sandusky, Ohio.

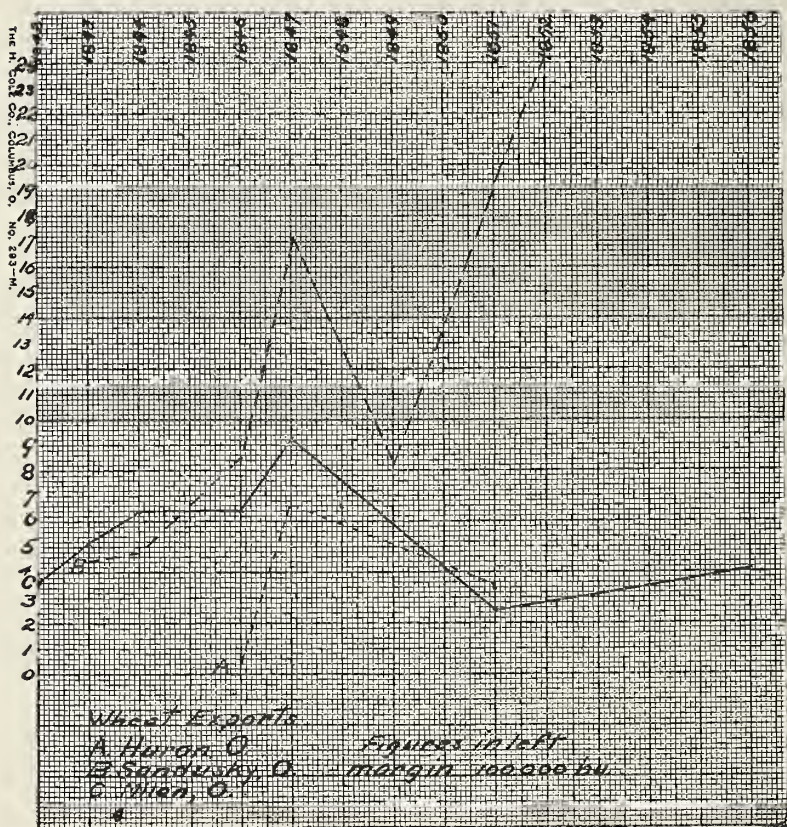
³⁷ Idem. Feb. 19th, 1853.

³⁸ Sandusky Clarion, Dec. 28th, 1844. Sandusky, Ohio.

³⁹ Andrew's Colonial and Lake Trade. House Doc. 136, 1852. p. 176. Washington, D. C. (These figures are higher than those for the same year in other sources but Andrews states that they are copied from the report of the collector of the port).

railroad building were launched during the decades of '30's and '40's. Very few of these projects attained material realization.

The disappointment of the people of Sandusky when the city was not made the terminus of the Miami Canal stimulated their interest in the building of railroads.⁴² This interest re-



sulted in the chartering of the Mansfield, Sandusky and Newark R. R. The road was constructed in sections and under different charters. The section from Sandusky to Monroeville was chartered in 1835 and was completed before the southern part

⁴² History of Erie Co., O. Aldrich, p. 264.

which extended from Mansfield to New Haven. The section between New Haven and Monroeville bridged the gap of fifteen miles and established complete communication between Mansfield and the Lake. John Sherman said that the purpose of the road was to give better transportation facilities for the products of the interior towards the lake ports.⁴³

"In the month of September (1845) the construction train brought salt and other merchandise to Plymouth. This train continued to run during the fall and winter, carrying back to Sandusky wheat in bags, and produce in barrels, upon the little open cars then in use."⁴⁴

The first train to cover the whole of the road entered Mansfield sometime between May 16th, and June 19th, 1846.⁴⁵

This railroad penetrated the very heart of the agricultural region which had been contributing to the wealth of Milan. Map. 1.

The advantages offered by the railroads over the wagon and team method of transportation soon made themselves felt in Milan. Mansfield became a center for the buying and selling of produce. Ware-houses were constructed and the teams which had been helping to block the streets of Milan now began to congregate in Mansfield and other villages along the line of the railroad. It was a matter of comment, in 1846, that the merchants of Mansfield were paying the same for wheat as was being offered in Milan.⁴⁶ Plymouth had a ware-house erected before the grain of 1846 was ready for the market. Now for the first time, the grain shipped over the railroad was marketed in bulk, rather than in bags and barrels. The cars were open, covered with canvas and tarpaulin and had a capacity of 140 bu. Development was rapid and the decline of Milan's receipts soon showed that this new railroad had absorbed the trade which had

⁴³ Fire Lands Pioneer, N. S. Vol. 6, March, 1891. p. 116.

NOTE: The report from Milan was not given separately after 1847, but was a part of the district.

⁴⁴ W. W. Drennan in Hist. of Richland Co., O. A. A. Graham. 1886. p. 302.

⁴⁵ Idem. p. 303 (Andrews in his Colonial and Lake Trade, says 1847. p. 357).

⁴⁶ Idem. p. 305.

been passing thru that port's warehouses. By 1853, the road enjoyed the monopoly of the grain trade of north central Ohio.⁴⁷ The newspapers carried schedules of the regular trains between Sandusky and Mansfield. Passengers could leave Sandusky every morning at 5 A. M. and by means of stage from Mansfield reach Columbus the same day and Cincinnati the next morning at 10:00. The return trains left Mansfield at 4 P. M. and reached Sandusky at 7 P. M.

Passage, Sandusky to Mansfield, by passenger train, \$1.75.

Passage, Sandusky to Mansfield, by freight train, \$1.25.

Freights left Sandusky each day (except Sunday) at 2 P. M.

Freights left Mansfield each day (except Sunday) at 10 A. M.

The rates at which goods were forwarded were:

Light goods	18¼ cts. per 100 lbs.
Heavy goods	16¼ " " " "

The agents of the railroads advertised that the merchants of Tuscarawas, Richland, Knox, Holmes, Licking, Franklin, Delaware, Union, Morrow and Crawford counties were favored by this new enterprise.⁴⁸

In 1852-'53 another railroad, the Toledo, Norwalk and Cleveland was completed.⁴⁹ It entered Norwalk which is situated just south of Milan, and which had been but a "side show" to Milan commercially, truncating the hinterland of Milan, no doubt contributing to the decline which had been so effectively begun by the Mansfield and Sandusky road.

The wheat shipment from Milan in 1851 was 258,778 bu. slightly more than one-fourth of the shipment of 1847 despite the increased production which must have taken place in Ohio thru the stimulus of the new transportation facilities and the employment of better agricultural methods.

The shipment of corn was 220,265 bu. as compared with 137,935 in 1847, flour 1,763 bbl. as compared with 7,182 bbl. of 1847.

⁴⁷ *Idem.* p. 305.

⁴⁸ Sandusky Clarion, Aug. 4th, 1846.

⁴⁹ Andrew's Report of Colonial and Lake Trade. H. Doc. 136, 1853. p. 359.

Milan suffered the inevitable and gradually lost commercial importance. The last vessel was taken down the canal in 1865. The next winter the locks were demolished by the ice and the spring freshets finished the destruction.

Milan numbered among its industries ship building. A number of firms engaged in this enterprise during the years of prosperity. In 1843 a visitor in the village wrote home to New Hampshire: "Several brigs and other sail have been built here within the last two years. An extensive slaughtering house is now going up, and the future prospects of the business are highly encouraging."⁵⁰ As late as February of 1855 there were nine vessels of from 250 to 300 tons burden in the process of construction at the ship yards. Including these nine vessels sixteen craft had been built for the lake trade within a year. They had an aggregate tonnage of 4,000 tons, and were valued at \$128,000. Associated with this construction work were the usual small industries necessary for furnishing the equipment which went with the vessels. The oak for the vessels was abundant in the region, and what was not used locally had established another industry of the community in that much material was shipped to the other vessel building points along the lake.⁵¹

Milan rose to temporary commercial importance because she took advantage of the possibility of becoming an artificial lake port for a broad, agricultural hinterland. A short, inexpensive canal overcame the obstacle of bad roads. But the obstacle which contributed to the rise contributed to the fall, the poor roads of the sandy belt were capable of being overcome in too many ways. The short canal leading to a river of limited navigability was not a sufficiently great improvement to maintain itself. Robbed of the hinterland by a rapid and cheaper means of transportation, Milan has become a village known only for the glory of the past. The limited capacity of her artificial harbor facilities gave her practically no consideration when the railroads were looking for terminal facilities and had the natural, and large harbors of Sandusky and Huron at their command for the asking.

⁵⁰ Milan Tribune, Nov. 9, 1843.

⁵¹ Sandusky Commercial Advertiser, Feb. 24, 1855.

OHIO GENERALS AND FIELD OFFICERS IN THE CIVIL WAR.

BY COLONEL W. L. CURRY.

In every crisis through which our Nation has passed since the firing of that shot at Concord, April 19, 1775, that "was heard around the world," there seem to have been men born to meet every emergency; statesmen and men of military genius called from the walks of civil life to carry the ship of State safely through; both in peace and war. Therefore when the first gun of the War of the Rebellion was fired on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, and while the smoke still hung over the battered walls the call came for volunteers, Ohio, with all the loyal North, was awakened to the danger of the hour.

But little did the citizens of this State realize the part their sons were to take in this great drama of war to follow. Ohio was fortunate in having leaders among her citizens who were to play an important part both as Statesmen and Soldiers. During the war Ohio furnished a larger number of distinguished generals than any other State in the Union.

At the very outbreak of the rebellion Ohio generals were at the front organizing our volunteer armies, and in the first battle of any note, Bull Run in 1861, General Irwin McDowell of Ohio commanded the Union army. At the close of the war, the vanquished and beleaguered Confederate armies of Lee and Johnston surrendered to Grant and Sherman, both Ohio generals.

After the battle of Bull Run, Virginia, July 21, 1861, General George B. McClellan, a citizen of Ohio, was appointed to the command of the Army of Virginia. General W. S. Rosecrans, a native of Ohio, was assigned to the command of the army of West Virginia. General Don Carlos Buell, a native of Ohio, was called to the command of the Army of Ohio and drove the Confederates from the Ohio river across the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and marched on to the relief of Grant's army at Shiloh, in April, 1862.

General Ormsby O. Mitchell of Ohio, cutting loose from Buell's army at Nashville, Tenn., in March, 1862, swept to the southeast, through Huntsville, Alabama, and then east to Chattanooga. General Mitchell was called by death, and General Q. A. Gilmore, another native of Ohio, was assigned to command Mitchell's division.

General Phillip Sheridan, who gained such fame as the great cavalry commander of the Union army, was from Ohio. General James B. McPherson, who commanded the Army of Tennessee in the Atlanta campaign and was killed on the battle line July 22d, 1864, was a native of Ohio and was the only army commander of the Union forces killed during the war.

Major General Thomas J. Wood, a gallant soldier of the regular army, was a division commander in the Army of the Cumberland in many decisive battles, and was especially distinguished at the battle of Missionary Ridge, Tenn.

Many other Ohio generals rendered distinguished service on the field in almost every great battle of the war, among whom may be named Hayes, Schenck, Crook, Garfield, Walcutt, Custer, the McCooks, Steadman, Stanley, Grosvenor, Beatty, Keifer, Harris, Lytle, Long, Hurst, Hamilton, and scores of others of exalted fame and under whose leadership our armies were led "Always to honor and often to victory."

There were two families of the "Fighting McCooks." The sons of Major Daniel McCook were Surgeon Latimer A. McCook; Colonel George W. McCook; Brigadier General Robert L. McCook, killed August 6, 1862; Major General Alexander McDowell McCook; Major General Edwin S. McCook; Brigadier General Daniel McCook; Private Charles M. McCook, killed at the battle of Bull Run Va., July 21, 1861, and Colonel John J. McCook; midshipman J. James McCook who died in the naval service before the war,—ten in all. The father Major Daniel McCook was in the service as paymaster and was killed July 22, 1863 while leading an advance against the rebel General John Morgan in his raid through Ohio.

Of the other family, sons of Dr. John McCook, brother of Major Daniel McCook, there were engaged in the service, Major General Edward M. McCook; Brigadier General Anson G. Mc-

Cook; Chaplain Henry C. McCook; Commander Roderick S. McCook, U. S. Navy and Lieutenant John J. McCook, in the two families, fifteen.

GALAXY OF OHIO GENERALS.

The total number of generals furnished by Ohio during the war was 227, divided by rank as follows:

Major Generals	20
Brevet Major Generals.....	27
Brigadier Generals	30
Brevet Brigadier Generals.....	150

227

In this number were some whose military fame was known and praised throughout the whole of the civilized world, and it may be well doubted if there was an officer in any of the European countries that stood as high as a military leader as did General Grant at the close of the war, and it is a fact and rather remarkable that the only officers that have ever attained the rank of general, excepting Washington, were Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, all Ohio soldiers.

Grant was commissioned lieutenant general, March 2, 1864, and held that rank until July 25, 1866, when he was promoted to general and was succeeded by William T. Sherman, who became a general in full March 4, 1869, upon Grant's election to the presidency. Phillip H. Sheridan was promoted to lieutenant general and held that rank until June 1, 1888, when he was promoted to full general. He died August 5, 1888. The act promoting Sheridan to the rank of general provided that the rank should end with the life of General Sheridan. Grant and Sherman and Sheridan may well be named "Ohio's Immortal Trinity."

Many persons are laboring under the mistaken idea that a general is usually in a place of safety during the battle and directs the movements of his troops from a position far from the point of real danger. This is all a delusion, as a good officer never hesitated to go where duty called him, and the most convincing evidence of this is the long "roll of honor" of the gen-

erals who were killed on the field in both the Union and Confederate armies. Two notable instances come to mind, General McPherson of the Union Army and Stonewall Jackson of the Confederate Army, both of whom were killed while in advance of their lines of battle. At least six Ohio generals were killed on the field, viz.: McPherson, Sill, Robert McCook, Dan McCook, Lytle and Harker. A score of others were severely wounded.

OTHER FIELD OFFICERS OF OHIO TROOPS KILLED IN BATTLE.

Colonel John H. Patrick, 5th O. V. I., fell mortally wounded during the Atlanta campaign, May 25, 1864, while actively engaged.

Colonel John T. Toland, 34th O. V. I., was killed at Wytheville, Va., July 18, 1863.

Lieutenant Colonel Barton S. Kyle, 71st O. V. I., fell at the battle of Pittsburg Landing, April 6, 1862.

Colonel William G. Jones, 36th O. V. I., fell at the battle of Chickamauga, September 19, 1863.

Colonel Fred C. Jones, 24th O. V. I., held command of the Tenth Brigade and was killed December 31, 1862, at the battle of Stone River.

Colonel Minor Milliken, 1st Ohio Cavalry, was killed in saber charge at battle of Stone River, December 31, 1862.

Colonel George P. Webster, 98th Ohio, fell in the battle of Perryville, Ky., September 8, 1862, and died on the field of battle.

Colonel Leander Stem, 101st O. V. I., was killed at Stone River, December 31, 1862.

Lieutenant Colonel Jonas D. Elliott, 102nd O. V. I., was killed at Athens, Alabama, September 23, 1864.

Colonel Joseph L. Kirby Smith, 43rd O. V. I., fell at the battle of Corinth, October 4, 1862.

Lieutenant Colonel James W. Shane, 98th O. V. I., fell June 27th, 1864, in an assault upon the enemy's works at Kenesaw.

Colonel Augustus H. Coleman, 11th O. V. I., was killed at the battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862.

Colonel J. W. Lowe, 12th Ohio, was killed in the battle of Carnifex Ferry, September 18, 1861.

Lieutenant Colonel Moses F. Wooster, 101st O. V. I., was mortally wounded on the 31st of December, 1862, at Stone River.

Lieutenant Colonel Valentine Cupp, commanding the First Ohio Cavalry, was killed in the battle of Chickamauga, September 20, 1863.

The loss of officers in both the Union and Confederate armies in killed and wounded, according to the best of authority, is larger in proportion than in the rank and file. This rather

explodes the story of the private who claimed that he never got behind a tree in any battle, and who, when asked for his reasons, stated that "There weren't enough trees for the officers." The officers and the privates were equally brave and did their duty on every battlefield, and among the soldiers of both armies who saw actual service, which means "soldiers who were in battle," there is no contention.

There are good reasons why the casualties among the officers would be in excess of that of their men; not that they were any braver, but they were exposed in passing along the lines. This was especially true when troops were protected by breastworks or barricades, while the duties of the officers were such that he was more exposed and sharpshooters and crack shots were always on the look-out for such marks in skirmishing or picket firing.

In the Union Army there were 6365 officers killed during the war, which is about one to each fifteen or sixteen men.

In a good organization the average in the army was about one officer to twenty-five men, so that to have made the proportion equal, the loss would be one officer to each twenty-five men. At the battle of Shiloh, which was fought without breastworks or any protection excepting trees and logs, the loss in officers was about sixteen per cent, which is perhaps a fair average, but at Gettysburg the loss in officers was about twenty-eight per cent, and in men about twenty per cent.

The following incident is related by an officer who served under General Dan McCook:

General Dan McCook, when he enlisted in the war for the Union, said: "Here is for a general's star or a soldier's grave."

He was selected by his law partner, General Sherman, to lead the assault on Kenesaw Mountain on June 27, 1864. After all the arrangements for the assault had been made, the brigade was formed in regimental front, five deep. Just before the assault Colonel McCook recited to his men in a perfectly calm manner the stanza from Macaulay's "Horatius," in which occur these lines:

"Then out spake brave Horatius,
The captain of the gate;

To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late.
And how can men die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temple of his gods?"

Then the brave general gave the word of command and dashed forward. He had reached the top of the enemy's works and was encouraging his men to follow when he was riddled with minie balls and fell back into their arms, wounded unto death.

The summer of 1864 was known as the great battle summer of the war, and the two most distinguished soldiers commanding the Union Armies were Grant and Sherman. While Grant, commander-in-chief, was with the Army of the Potomac battling through the Wilderness on toward Richmond, the goal for which that great army had been fighting for more than three years, Sherman, with his magnificent army, one hundred thousand strong, was driving the Confederates across the rivers and through the mountain passes of northern Georgia in that "One hundred days under fire from Chattanooga to Atlanta."

Atlanta fell September 30, 1864, and that brief, terse dispatch from Sherman to President Lincoln was flashed—"Atlanta is ours and fairly won." Then came the "march to the sea," cutting the Confederacy in two, and the march up through the Carolinas. The surrender of the Confederate Army under fighting Joe Johnston to General Sherman, at Durhams Station, North Carolina, occurred April 26, 1865. During the early spring days of 1865 Grant had been closing up the lines around the Confederate Army under their greatest General, Robert E. Lee and the cavalry under dashing Phil Sheridan at Five Forks was blocking every avenue of escape in the forlorn hope of the Confederate Army to break through the lines. Then came the climax by the surrender at Appomattox, April 9, 1865, with Grant, Sherman and Sheridan the great central figures in the closing scenes. An Ohio soldier commanding in the first battle of importance and Ohio soldiers receiving the surrender of the Confederate Armies at the close of the Civil War are historical events in which every patriotic citizen of the State can take a just pride.

A HISTORY OF BANKING IN OHIO.

BY P. W. HUNTINGTON,

President Huntington National Bank, Columbus, Ohio.

The early history of banking in the state of Ohio is much obscured by want of records on the subject, but enough is known to demonstrate the fact that banking has been an important factor in the growth of the commonwealth from the beginning of its existence down to the year 1912.

The first institution in Ohio to issue notes for circulation as money was the Miami Exporting Company, of Cincinnati, which was incorporated April 15, 1803. The act of incorporation has no reference to a bank. There is no intimation anywhere in the charter that a bank was meant, nor that the company was granted authority to issue notes to be used as money; but it did issue them and they passed into circulation. These notes were not all finally redeemed. In the early history of the state, banking was practically free, and, as a natural consequence, it was fraught with disaster to stockholders and to the public alike. From 1803 down to the year 1845 the conditions under which the business of the state was conducted were most deplorable.

Between March 10, 1808, and January 14, 1818, there were 20 banks incorporated in the state, with an aggregate authorized capital of \$4,350,000; but it is, perhaps, impossible now to ascertain what proportion of this authorized capital was paid up. These banks were located in the southwestern, the central, the eastern and the northeastern sections of the state, and often in what were then isolated places, with only occasional communication with the outside world. Most of them failed or were closed out with heavy loss. Their charters were very crude in form and often at great variance with each other in their provisions, and, except that, in some cases, and under certain conditions, the directors might be held personally respon-

sible, there was little or no security provided for the public, which suffered frequent and heavy losses from bank failures. Much of the paper money circulated among the people had been issued hundreds of miles beyond the borders of the state, and its value was not, and could not be, known by those among whom it circulated.

As an illustration of the kind of banks established during this early period, the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for the year 1897 names one of the "wild-cat" banks of Michigan, which never had any specie, although its liabilities exceeded \$38,000; and it had no assets of any kind. The Exchange Bank of Shiawassee, when it failed, had in its safe seven coppers, and a very small amount of paper; while it had liabilities to the amount of \$22,267. A history of Jefferson County, Ohio, states that a bank at Salem in that county, failed in 1816, and "the only asset was a table." The same authority says another bank in that county had, as the only asset, "a keg filled with nails, having a mere covering of gold and silver coin." Other similar cases are recorded, showing in many cases, great want of intelligence, and of integrity, on the part of those who, under a system of free banking, undertook to carry on the business.

Wildcat banking was a curse to Ohio, in common with other Western states, and the spurious credit established by it was a blot on the fair name of commercial integrity. The losses imposed by this evil were as widespread as the communities of the state, and every man was liable to have in his pocket money which was worthless, or which could be passed only at a ruinous rate of discount. A clause is found in some of the early bank charters that "the capital stock shall never be impaired by the dividends;" and the legislature appears to have assumed that the banks created by it had a right, without the grant, to issue notes for circulation. How that supposed right was used, and abused, can never be fully known.

In a communication from Ralph Osborn, then auditor of state, to the legislature, in the winter of 1820, he reported \$28,934 of bad bank notes in the state treasury, of which he had "no doubt the greater part is irrevocably lost to the state." In 1831 this amount of bad money in the treasury had increased

to about \$33,000. On May 20, 1820, the Niles Register, a newspaper published at Baltimore, Md., named nine specie paying banks in Ohio, and the "notes of the rest are generally 25 to 30 per cent. discount." It is noteworthy that one of these nine specie paying banks was the Franklin Bank of Columbus.

The facts here mentioned, and many others which might be cited, show, conclusively, the vital necessity which then existed for the exercise of more wisdom, or, may it not be said, of some wisdom in the organization and management of banks. The situation was not unlike that in England during the period, in the time of William and Mary, when clipped coins made up most of the circulating medium of the realm, and it became absolutely unbearable.

The reports of banks made to the Auditor of State, and by him reported to the Legislature, as of the first day of January, 1843, show the condition of the fifteen banks so reporting to be, in the aggregate, as follows, to-wit:

Total loans.....	\$4,099,746	Ave. per bk.....	\$273,316
" Specie on hand....	557,309	" " "	37,154
" Circulation	1,145,165	" " "	76,344
" Deposits	740,666	" " "	49,377

Of the fifteen reporting banks, the Commercial Bank of Cincinnati made the largest report, with deposits of \$205,022; and the Bank of Mt. Pleasant made the smallest, its deposits being only \$393. This report of the State Auditor is inadequate, and does not show a full statement of the Banking business of the State at the time of its date, because some of the chartered banks refused, for political reasons, to report their business, and because there was no provision in their charters requiring them to do so; and because, also, much of the banking business of the State was conducted by private bankers, who were not expected to report. But it serves to show the immense growth of the banking business in the State during the seventy years which have elapsed since its date.

The strife here referred to, between the law makers of the State of Ohio and its bankers, finally culminated when, in the winter of 1853-4, the Legislature passed a law known as "The

Crow-bar law," which was designed to give any Sheriff the right to enter, by force, into any bank vault in his county and help himself to such money as would satisfy his demand for taxes. One bank, in eastern Ohio, was subjected to this drastic treatment, when the sheriff, backed by his posse, broke open its vault and helped himself. The Columbus banks paid this outrageous tax, *under protest*, rather than have their vaults destroyed; but immediately brought suit for its recovery, which was accomplished when the Supreme Court of the State pronounced the "Crow-bar law" unconstitutional. The exigencies which soon required great expansion of credit by the general Government, chiefly through the medium of banks, brought peace between democratic statesmen and bankers everywhere.

An ever present form of loss and annoyance to bankers, and to the public also, during the first sixty years of banking in Ohio, was the unending supply of counterfeit bank notes which were passed upon unsuspecting victims. This was a crying evil; and no bank teller was expert enough to detect all the spurious currency offered, innocently in most cases, to him. For the twelve years following 1850 a copy of "Thompson's Monthly Bank Note Reporter" was almost as necessary to the teller's desk as the teller himself. As late as 1856, it was estimated that there were over *sixteen hundred* plates in use, in the United States, from which bank notes were struck for circulation. These bank notes were of a great variety in color and design, and were of many different sizes. No man could remember all of them. Hence the constant necessity for reference to Thompson's Reporter, which undertook to publish a *verbal* description of each genuine bank note plate from which circulating notes were struck—no small job; and hence also the constant loss arising from counterfeiting. Since the Government undertook to furnish all the circulating medium, the number of plates from which money is struck has been reduced to a minimum, while, at the same time, the higher grade of the paper used, and the greater skill displayed by the engraver, have so greatly increased the difficulty of successful counterfeiting that the cost and risk of the fraud deter evil-minded persons from attempting it.

To the accomplishment of something better in the character and form of the business of banking, some of the best men of the state of Ohio, in the years following 1840, directed their thoughts and energy. Under the leadership of Alfred Kelley, of Columbus, then a member of the state senate, the legislature of the state passed, on the twenty-fourth day of February, 1845, an act entitled, "an act to incorporate the State Bank of Ohio and other banking companies." In the preparation and advocacy of this act Mr. Kelley showed himself to be a man whose wisdom fairly gave him the title of statesman. The act was passed by a strict party vote, the Whigs voting for the measure and the Democrats opposing it. The capital of the state bank was fixed at \$6,150,000.

The act did not establish a state bank proper, but incorporated "the State Bank of Ohio," with its business done by branches. Forty-one branches were established in 35 counties and these branches were governed by a board of control, composed of one member representing each branch. This board of control met quarterly in Columbus, and Judge Gustavus Swan, of Columbus, was elected its first president.

No branch was allowed to organize with less than \$100,000, nor more than \$500,000 capital; but in fact no branch ever had more than \$175,000 of paid up capital. Notes for circulation were supplied to the branches by the board of control, through its secretary, and were redeemable only at the branch which issued them. A branch could issue circulation on its capital up to and including \$100,000, for twice that amount; on the second \$100,000, or part thereof, one and a half times the amount of capital paid in, in excess of \$100,000. Before the board of control could deliver to any branch notes for circulation, they must require such branch to pay over, or deposit to the credit of the board, either in money or in the bonds of the state of Ohio, or of the United States, or in good notes secured by mortgages on real estate, an amount equal to 10 per cent. of the notes for circulation to be delivered to such branch. The bonds or money so deposited were denominated the "safety fund," and were held by the board of control, as the property of the board, in trust for the several branches of the State Bank of Ohio, as

a fund for the redemption of the circulating notes of any one or more of said branches that might fail to redeem its notes.

These branches were generally located one in a county; but there were two in Chillicothe, two in Columbus and two in Cleveland, each of which had a successful career, until forced out of business, 'about 1863, by the general government, which assumed the right to furnish all the circulating medium issued in the country. Two branches were established in Cincinnati, but one of them failed early in its history and the other soon wound up its business as a branch bank, and continued as a private bank, under the title of Groesbeck & Co. Two branches were established, at different dates, in Toledo, but both soon failed. One failed at Akron. One failed at Newark.

In the failure of these branch banks the public had an experience which was new in the history of banking. Though five banks had failed, their circulating notes still passed at par and were redeemed in coin as promptly as the notes of any solvent bank. The public suffered no loss or inconvenience whatever.

Judge Gustavus Swan resigned as president of the board of control November 21, 1854, when Dr. John Andrews, then president of the Jefferson Branch Bank at Steubenville, was elected to succeed him. Dr. Andrew served until November, 1866, when Joseph Hutcheson, of Columbus, was elected, and served until May, 1870. Then J. Twing Brooks, a lawyer of Salem, was elected. He finally wound up the affairs of the institution.

The service rendered to the business of the state by the State Bank of Ohio was of inestimable value. In a period when there was neither telegraph pole nor railroad tie in the state it afforded a safe and perfectly reliable circulating medium, by which the business of the state was conducted; but more, and even better than this, it gained the absolute confidence of the people, who came to believe, and with good reason, that its red-back currency was as "good as gold." In the 20 years of its chartered life the State Bank of Ohio passed, unscathed, through three severe money panics, in the years 1847, 1857 and 1861.

Of the pioneer bankers who, from time to time, were members of the board of control, there is now but one survivor, John Gardiner, who, at age of 96 years, is still the active president of the Norwalk National Bank—a splendid man, physically and mentally.

The State Bank of Ohio demonstrated the wisdom of its founders. It lived through some troublous times, but kept its integrity. It did what it was designed to do, provide a safe circulating medium for the people of the state, which passed everywhere as current as coin. At the same time the Bank paid its stockholders a good interest on their investment.

But the success of the bank was assured under the control of such men as managed it. Read the list: E. H. Moore and John Welch of Athens; Colonel John Madeira and Dr. Albert Douglas of Chillicothe; W. A. Otis, T. P. Handy and Thomas M. Kelley of Cleveland; Valentine Winters of Dayton; Hosea Williams of Delaware; Gustavus Swan, Alfred Kelley, and William B. Hubbard of Columbus; Henry E. Parsons of Ashtabula; James Purdy of Mansfield; Joseph J. Brooks of Salem; John Kilgour and John J. Groesbeck of Cincinnati; John McCurdy; Chauncey Dewey of Cadiz; Darius Tallmadge and M. A. Daugherty of Lancaster; Dr. John Andrews and William Spencer of Steubenville; Henry B. Curtis of Mt. Vernon; E. De Witt and John R. Finn of Elyria; John Bacon of Springfield; Noah L. Wilson of Marietta; John H. James of Urbana; Jonathan Binns and J. W. Gill of Mt. Pleasant; H. J. Jewett and Daniel Applegate of Zanesville; John Gardiner of Norwalk; Joseph G. Young of Piqua; Eli Kinney of Ripley; E. Quinby, Jr., of Wooster; Abraham Hiveling of Xenia, and John C. Tallman of Bridgeport.

It may be safely assumed that no other organization of equal number, either secular or religious, ever existed in the state which included such an array of good men—men remarkable for intelligence, morality, business integrity and all that makes for good citizenship.

Abounding as were the benefits bestowed upon the people by the State Bank of Ohio, the limit of this paper prevents

further detailed description of them, and I beg to hasten to a specific account of the early banks of Columbus.

The Franklin Bank of Columbus was incorporated, by an act of the legislature, on February 23, 1816. Lucas Sullivant became its first president, but retired after two years of service. John Kerr was president in 1819. In 1823 Gustavus Swan succeeded Kerr in the presidency and served until 1843. In 1818 William Neil was elected cashier and served until 1826, when he was succeeded by Jonah M. Espy, who remained in office until the charter expired in 1843.

It is undoubtedly true that the fine reputation and financial success of the Franklin Bank was due, in great measure, to the painstaking care bestowed on it by Mr. Espy as its executive officer. He seemed to be, by nature, a good banker. He resided for many years on the south side of Town Street between High and Third Streets. (Columbus.) Here, in the year 1826, his daughter Isabelle was born. As a girl, and later as the wife and widow of Dr. Francis Carter, she was a brilliant member of the best society of the Capital city. Many persons now living recall with great pleasure the amiability of character and the grace of manner by which, during all her long life, she was adorned.

During the legislative session of 1833-34 the Clinton Bank of Columbus was chartered, and in October, 1834, the bank began business. William Neil was elected president and John Delafield, Jr., cashier. In January, 1846, Mr. Neil was succeeded by William S. Sullivant, who continued as president until the charter of the bank expired in 1854. Mr. Delafield was succeeded as cashier by John S. Jeffords in January, 1838. Jeffords died in April, 1842, when David W. Deshler was elected cashier, and continued in office until the expiration of the charter.

The charter of the Clinton Bank, like all the early bank charters of the state, would, in these days, be considered as wanting in requirements for the safest form of bank management; yet while many banks of its class in the state went out in insolvency, the Clinton Bank of Columbus was fortunate in having able and upright men as its officers and directors, who brought it to the end of its charter, a successful, regular dividend paying institution. After the expiration of its charter, a

number of the principal stockholders formed themselves into a private banking company, known as the "Clinton Bank," under the management of William G. Deshler, the well-known retired banker of to-day. This business finally became a part of the National Exchange Bank of Columbus.

During the legislative session of 1837-8, the "Mechanics Saving Institute" of Columbus, a bank of deposit, was incorporated. William B. Hubbard became its president and Thomas Moodie its cashier. This business was taken over by the City Bank, a state stock bank, in 1845. Joel Butties was president of the City Bank until his death, in 1850. He was succeeded by Robert W. McCoy, who served until his death, in 1856. Thomas Moodie was cashier during the entire life of the bank. Mr. Moodie was a Scotch Presbyterian, an elder, and a good man; but there was a want of directness in his business methods, which finally led him into trouble. In November, 1854, the City Bank suspended payment, and its doors were closed.

The Exchange Bank, a branch of the State Bank of Ohio, in Columbus, went into operation on May 24, 1845, with a paid up capital of \$125,000. William B. Hubbard was elected president. He retired in June, 1852, and was succeeded by William Dennison, Jr., who served until January 1, 1856, when David W. Deshler succeeded him. Herman M. Hubbard was cashier until June, 1853, when he was succeeded by Morgan L. Neville, who died in December, 1855. Charles J. Hardy was elected cashier January 1, 1856. Mr. Hardy served in this institution until it was wound up in 1863 and continued as cashier in various banks, state and national, which succeeded it, until July 2, 1910, when the business of the Deshler National Bank, of which he was cashier, was taken over by the Hayden-Clinton National Bank.

At that time, after more than 54 years of unblemished official life, Mr. Hardy gave up active business. The evening of his life is being spent in honorable retirement, with his family about him, and the care of his flowers for a pleasing occupation. His spotless character and his faithful service need no eulogistic comment from me. In speaking of him the phrase of the

Psalmist, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace," may be used with perfect application.

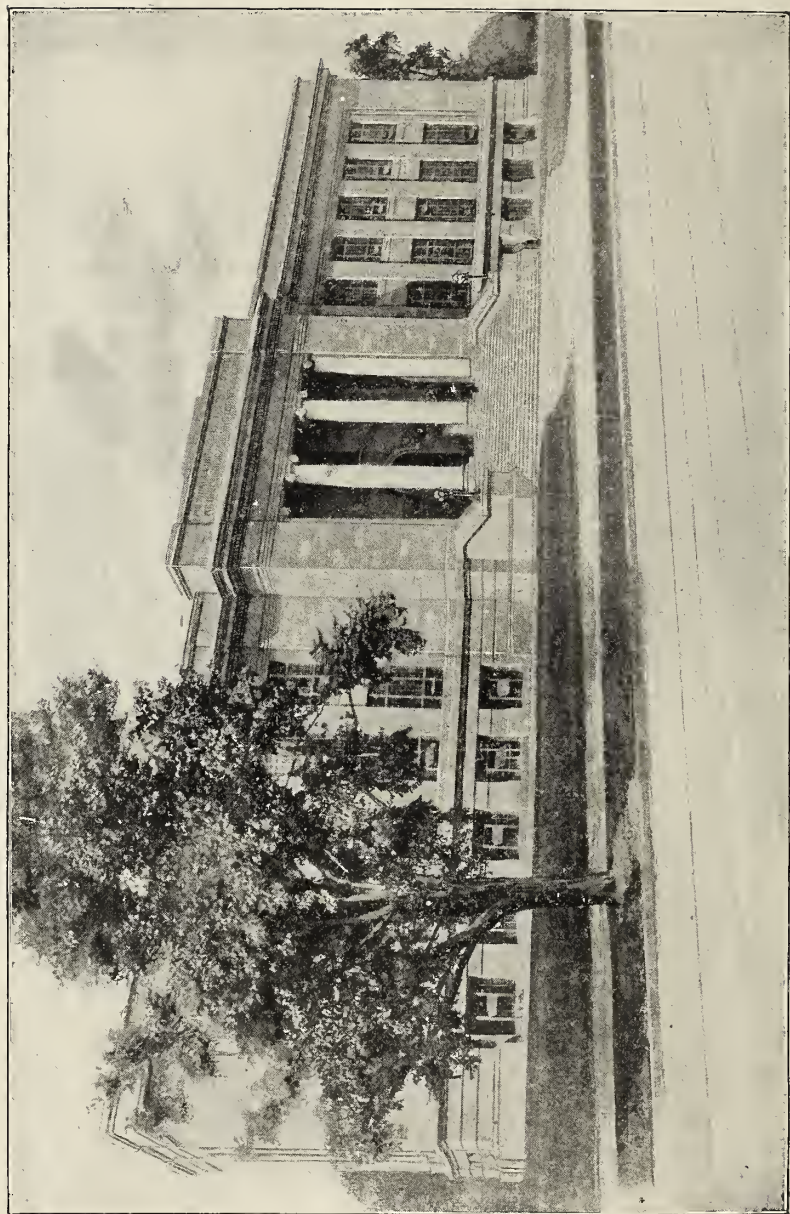
The Franklin branch of the state bank of Ohio in Columbus was incorporated by Dr. Samuel Parsons, Judge Gustavus Swan and their associates, and began business July 1, 1845, with a paid up capital of \$175,000. Dr. Samuel Parsons was elected president and served until May, 1862, when he retired. Thomas Wood then acted as president for one year, and in July, 1853, David W. Deshler was elected to succeed him. James Espy, afterwards a well-known banker of Cincinnati, was the first cashier, and served until July, 1854, when he retired to become an active partner in the banking firm of Kinney, Espy & Co., of Cincinnati. On the retirement of Mr. Espy, Joseph Hutcheson was elected cashier and continued in office until the bank, which had been a profitable investment for its stockholders, was merged into the Franklin National Bank in 1863.

During the decade between 1850 and 1860 there were three private banks doing business in Columbus, viz.: the association known as the Clinton Bank (mentioned above), Miller, Donaldson & Co., bankers, and Bartlet & Smith, bankers. The last two named were not successful and were closed out with serious loss. On January 1, 1866, the private banking house of P. W. Huntington & Co. was established, at the northwest corner of High and Broad streets. Its business was a successful and growing one until June 1, 1905, when it was merged into the Huntington National Bank. On August 1, 1875, the Capital City Bank was organized by Samuel S. Rickly, who became its president. It has always been a successful institution and under the active management of Ralph R. Rickly, its present president, gives promise of a long career of usefulness in this community:

Closely allied to moral soundness in banking is commercial integrity in the community. The two walk together, and the highest plane of excellence can be attained in neither without the co-operation of the other. By this relationship credit is established and maintained; but however valuable and excellent in society, however profitable and pleasing, credit, public or

private, may be to those who extend it, it is in vain to hope for its highest development, or even to imagine the possibility of its existence, without honesty and rectitude on the part of those to whom it may be extended. Credit is very subtle in its nature, and it can no more be forced by laws, it can no more be obtruded by authority, however high and powerful, than an article of faith can be forced on the understanding without proper proof or evidence; but it is always fostered and strengthened by well-directed enterprise and integrity of purpose. Is it then unreasonable to believe that the constantly advancing prosperity of Columbus, founded upon carefully protected credit, is closely connected with its conservatively managed banks; and that, on the other hand, such banks are enabled to maintain themselves in character and position, partly at least, by the co-operation of their friends in the business community to whom they extend lines of credit? It must be so, and it certainly follows, "as the night the day," that prosperity is realized, in the highest sense, only when society at large, and men in all branches of business, work together, with a firm purpose to deal honestly, to encourage integrity, and to stamp out, with an unrelenting purpose, all unfair dealing and fraud. Every man is interested in this matter. Let us all, then, work together for the accomplishment of the purpose to establish the business of our community upon the highest level of excellence.

As a means to the accomplishment of the end here suggested the present system of banking in Columbus, with its supervision by our Clearing House Association, is a potent factor. Under this system our banks are prosperous, and are widely and favorably known. Some of them have business connections throughout our country, and in foreign lands, where their evidences of indebtedness pass unquestioned.

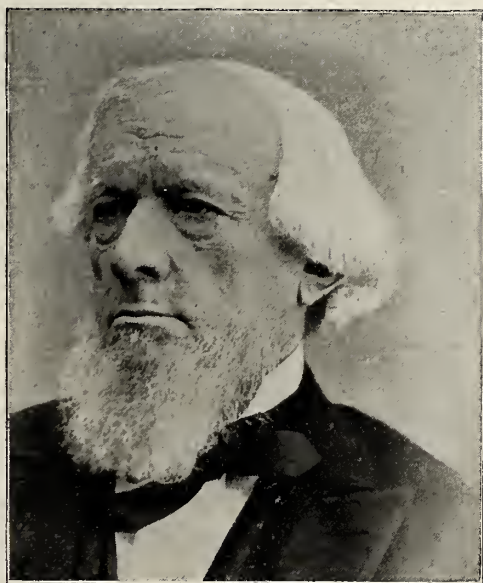


Museum and Library Building, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

DEDICATION OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MUSEUM
AND LIBRARY BUILDING.

MAY 30, 1914.

On the afternoon of Saturday, May 30th (Memorial Day), following the annual meeting of the Society, which was held in the morning, the Society celebrated the dedication of the new building, located on the campus, O. S. U., corner High Street and 15th Ave.



ALLEN G. THURMAN,
First President of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

The building, facing the east, occupies a conspicuous position on the west side of High Street, immediately south of the

main and spacious entrance to the campus of the Ohio State University. A structure, imposing and attractive in architectural form, it is therefore the first of the many handsome buildings, that dot and adorn the college grounds, to greet the view, not only of the visitors to the university but to all those who pass by on the chief thoroughfare of the capital city. Certainly the trustees of the Ohio State University were generous when they donated this choice site to the official board of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, for it is to be remembered that while the Society has a sympathetic and co-operative relation in its aims and work with the university, it is entirely distinct therefrom in its organization and official management.

The exercises were held in the rotunda of the building. The day seemed to be propitious and the incidents conducive to a very happy occasion. The rotunda was filled with the members of the Society, invited guests and those interested in its work and welfare.

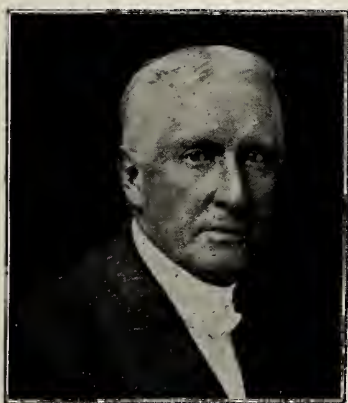
First Vice President George F. Bareis called the meeting to order, and after a few fitting remarks asked Rev. I. F. King, many years one of the trustees of the Society, to pronounce the invocation. Mr. Bareis then presented Prof. G. Frederick Wright, President of the Society, as the chairman of the meeting. President Wright made the following address:

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WRIGHT.

When the whites began to penetrate into the Mississippi Valley, about the middle of the 16th century, Ohio was occupied by contending tribes of Iroquois and Algonquin Indians. Not only were these tribes continually at war with each other, but both were engaged in driving back beyond the Ohio the tribes which occupied the country south of that river. So successful were these northern tribes in driving away from the hunting grounds of Ohio their southern antagonists, that, according to General William Henry Harrison, during the 18th century there was not on the banks of the Ohio, a single wigwam or structure in the nature of a permanent abode, "the curling smoke of whose chimneys would give the promise of comfort and refreshment to a

weary traveler." Through the opposition of these tribes even Kentucky was without permanent occupation, but was kept merely as a common hunting ground.

But, long before the encroachments of these warlike northern tribes, Southern and Central Ohio had been occupied by a race which had made far greater advances in civilization than any of the people occupying the territory of the United States at the time of the discovery of America by the whites. From the numerous monuments left by these extinct people they have been aptly called the Mound Builders. From the abundance of



G. Frederick Wright.

their remains in Ohio, the work of exploring and interpreting these remains and of ascertaining their date and the stage of civilization to which they had attained, has naturally devolved upon the citizens of our State, and for this purpose largely the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has been organized; while the erection of this noble building is designed to bring within reach of all our citizens, and indeed of the world, the facts on which just inferences can be based. It is, there-

fore, to be expected that in connection with the dedication of this building there should be put before the public not only the aims of our Society, but to some extent the progress which we have made in solving the problems set before us.

It will not, however, be necessary on this occasion to go far into details. For the main facts it is sufficient to refer to the twenty-three volumes of our *Quarterly*, edited by Mr. Randall, and which have become a storehouse of information for all who care to become informed upon the subject. Nor would we ignore the work which others from outside the State have generously done in exploring Ohio earthworks and preserving

their contents for public inspection. During the first half of the 19th century it was left to citizens of Ohio alone to study and report upon these interesting ancient remains. William Henry Harrison, Caleb Atwater, Colonel Charles Whittlesey and Squier and Davis faithfully gave the world the superficial facts concerning the original distribution and condition of the various mounds and earthworks of the state. Squier and Davis also carried on to a limited extent the exploration of individual mounds. The results of their investigations were published in 1848, in the "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," being the first volume of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. This large quarto must ever remain our chief source of information concerning the condition of our earthworks at that period.

But later there came a sad lull of interest on the part of our own citizens, and it fell to the lot of others from outside the state to take up and carry on the work of investigation. Owing to this lack of interest in our own state, and indeed in the whole country, the large collection of relics which Squier and Davis had obtained from the mounds in their original explorations was carried away from our shores and lodged in an English museum. Mr. Blackmore, an ardent archaeological explorer from Salisbury, England, saw the value of the collection made by Squier and Davis, which lay neglected in the basement of one of the public buildings at Washington, and purchased it and took it to his native town and erected for it a suitable resting place, where it is opened to the inspection of all interested students of American archaeology. And there it is today, inviting all Americans who visit the mother country to turn aside and revel for awhile in facts concerning the prehistoric civilization of their own land. All praise be given to Mr. Blackmore. But shame on the people of Ohio and the United States that they did not appreciate their own archaeological treasures!

Then, while interest in these invaluable monuments still flagged in our own State, others from outside the state began to shame us for our indifference. On the founding of the Peabody Institute of American Archaeology in connection with Harvard University, and the appointment of Professor F. W. Putnam as

Curator, a new era in the investigation of Ohio mounds began. Exploration of individual mounds was undertaken with a care that had not before been thought of. In the course of time no less than \$60,000.00 had been expended by the Peabody Museum in the careful exploration of Ohio earthworks, and nearly \$10,000.00 in the purchase and preservation of the celebrated Serpent Mound of Adams county. Meanwhile agents of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington were collecting specimens obtained by various sporadic excavations in such earthworks as seemed to give most promise of containing valuable relics.

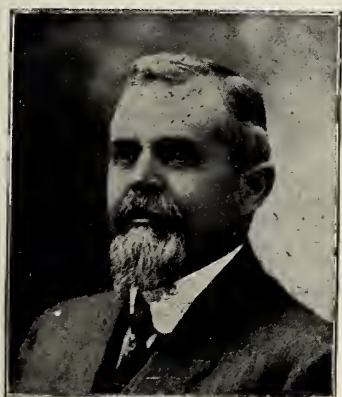
But it was in 1893 that one of the most fruitful raids was carried on in Ohio from outside the state. In that year the managers of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago appropriated several thousand dollars for the exploration of the Hopewell group of mounds in the valley of Paint Creek, near Chillicothe. The results of that exploration were astonishing. On an altar in one of the mounds there were found a half bushel of obsidian arrowheads and spearheads, the material of which must have been brought from the Rocky Mountains. In other portions of the group were found large numbers of copper ornaments and implements from the Lake Superior region, also large flakes and many ornaments of mica, which is found native no nearer than the mountains of North Carolina. In another part of the group there was found a cache of flint discs, ready for reworking, sufficient in quantity to fill a four-horse wagon. Among the ornaments were Swastika crosses, some of them three inches in length, cut from mica and thin sheets of hammered copper. But all these treasures were taken to Chicago, where they remain, but fortunately are open to inspection for any Ohio citizen who may visit the Field Museum in that city. We should also add that the great quantity of material obtained by Professor Putnam and his collaborators are open to inspection to anyone who cares to visit the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Mass.

When our society began serious work in exploration of the mounds in the last decade of the 19th century, the question arose whether there was anything left for us to find in the

mounds. It seemed to some that at least the cream had all been taken off, and that little of value could accrue to our efforts. Nevertheless the Legislature began to make appropriations for field work to be conducted by our curator. The results are partially seen in the well-arranged cases in the exhibition rooms of this building, which is now and is ever to remain open to the inspection of the public. The results have far exceeded the expectations of even the most sanguine. Our excavations have been carried on so much more thoroughly than previous excavations had been that they have already yielded more valuable material than had been found by all the earlier explorers. In illustration we will refer only to the discoveries in the Harness Mound (named after the owner), in the Valley of the Scioto near Chillicothe. This mound had been sporadically explored by Squier and Davis, Professor Putnam and Professor Moorehead. These parties had sunk shafts from the top, and run tunnels from the sides and ends. But the results had been disappointing. When, however, Professor Mills excavated the whole mound from one end to the other he was rewarded by a remarkable number of discoveries. It appeared as the work progressed that the mound marked the site of a great charnel house where there had at first been an enclosure, elliptical in shape, marked by large posts sunk in the ground to a depth of two or three feet. Casts of the post-holes still remained, the posts having been burned when the charnel house had been filled and made ready for the mound to be heaped over all. In Professor Putnam's exploration only twelve graves had been hit upon. Professor Moorehead was more fortunate, having hit upon twenty-seven burials. But in Professor Mills' complete excavation, he found one hundred and thirty-three burials. This was accounted for by the fact that the burials were arranged all around the ellipse, near the edge, and so escaped the earlier random efforts to find them.

The Harness Mound has yielded the highest evidences of culture that have been found in the Ohio mounds. The excavations show that a considerable number of the burials were of cremated remains, and that great respect was paid to the dead. The graves were carefully prepared, and contained a large

number of ornaments and implements showing a wide range of commerce among the people. There were large, hammered copper plates and delicately formed copper earrings in abundance, the material of which must have come from the Lake Superior mines. There were also numerous implements of copper and pearls set in copper; while numerous ornaments delicately cut from sheets of mica that must have been obtained in the mountains of North Carolina. There were also many fragments of pottery, though without decoration. Bones with artistic forms engraved upon them were found, showing that the occupants were not devoid of the art of sculpture.



George F. Bareis.

Their artistic skill was also shown in numerous pipes carved from limestone, and in gorgets made of diorite, a material so hard that great patience must have been exercised in making them. Flint arrow heads of exquisite patterns also abounded, while there were implements of obsidian which must have been brought from the Rocky Mountains, and drinking cups ten inches long made from shells which came from the Atlantic Ocean or Gulf of Mexico. Also remnants of coarse matting and of woven fab-

rics were encountered from time to time in the explorations and innumerable beads made from small ocean shells and from pearls were found. More than 3,000 of these shells were taken from one burial place, while in another a string of 2,100 pearl beads was found. But, most interesting of all, it appeared that the market for pearls exceeded the supply, hence resort was had to counterfeiting the genuine article. Beads were made of clay and covered with malleable mica so that they could with difficulty be distinguished from the real pearls.

Thus, from this and other mounds explored by our society after the previous explorers had abandoned them, we have

gathered a larger and more representative collection of relics illustrating the civilization of the Mound Builders than can be found in all other museums put together. This is the result of our more thorough methods of exploration. All these facts are admirably displayed in the various rooms of this building for the inspection of our citizens. But to get an adequate impression of our field for archaeological exploration one must visit the mounds and earthworks themselves.

The variety and extent of the Ohio mounds and earthworks are noteworthy, especially when one takes into account the rudeness of the implements with which their erection was accomplished. In number the mounds amount to more than ten thousand. But they are for the most part situated in the southern portion of the State. In the words of Gerard Fowke, our chosen historian of the Mound Builders, "There is scarcely a point along the Scioto below Circleville, or in either Miami in the lower half of its course, or in the valley of any tributary in these streams, where one may not be within a few minutes' walk of some permanent evidence of aboriginal habitation. The same is true of the Cuyahoga and some other rivers belonging to the Lake Erie basin. On the summits of steep hills; in bottom lands subject to overflow; on every terrace bordering a stream; on plateaus and uplands; wherever there is cultivable or naturally drained land, a good point of observation, an ample supply of water, a convenient topography for trails—the Mound Builder has left his mark. ("Archaeological History of Ohio p 299.")

The largest mound in the State is situated near Miamisburg, in Montgomery county, on a conspicuous elevation overlooking the valley of the Great Miami River. It is sixty-eight feet high, with a circular base measuring 850 feet, thus including more than an acre of surface, and containing not far from 1,500,000 cubic feet of material. As there are no signs of any excavation near, this material, consisting of fine earth, must have been scraped off from the surface for a great distance. Thus the labor of constructing such an immense mound with the conveniences at hand must have been enormous, and have called for an organization of some sort which commands our highest

respect. Altogether it embodies an ideal wrought out in concrete form that does immense credit to its builders. As it has never been thoroughly explored we can only surmise the object for which it was constructed. But in all probability it is reared over the remains of some distinguished chieftain who had won the love and respect of a large tribe of devoted followers. The intensity of their devotion and the extent of their organization may be inferred from an estimate of the time and labor required for the erection of the tumulus. As the earth was evidently brought from some distance, and the toilers had nothing better than stone implements with which to move it and wicker baskets in which to carry it on their shoulders it is a moderate estimate that five years' labor of one thousand men would be required to rear the monument.

Of the historic fortifications of the State that known as Fort Ancient is the most imposing. Fort Ancient is in Warren county, on the Little Miami River, about ten miles east of Lebanon. It is on a promontory 270 feet above the river bottoms, and commands a magnificent prospect of the fertile valley below. Two ravines head near each other on the table-land to the east of the river. Along the margin of the summit of the jagged outline eroded by these streams earth has been piled all around to strengthen the natural fortification. So irregular is the line, that though enclosing but one hundred and fifty acres, it measures nearly four miles in length (18,712 feet, not counting any detached works). A moderate estimate of the amount of material removed to constitute this earth wall is 9,000,000 cubic feet. Its construction would require the continuous labor of several hundred men, with primitive tools, as much as ten years. In the words of Professor Orton, "We cannot be mistaken in seeing in the work of Fort Ancient striking evidence of an organized society, of intelligent leadership, in a word, of a strong government. A vast deal of labor was done and it was done methodically, systematically and with continuity. Here again we must think of the conditions under which the work was accomplished. * * * Not only were the Mound Builders without the aid of domestic animals of any sort, but they were without the service of metals. They had no tools of

iron; all the picks, hoes and spades that they used were made from chipped flints, and mussel shells from the river must have done the duty of shovels and scrapers. In short, not only was the labor severe and vast, but was all done in the hardest way. * * * Can we be wrong in further concluding that this work was done under a strong and efficient government? Men have always shown that they do not love hard work, and yet hard work was done persistently here. Are there not evidences on the

face of the facts that they were held to their tasks by some strong control?"



Lewis F. Schaus.

But Fort Ancient is only one of many similar fortified hilltops scattered over the southern part of the State, and to some extent, though on a smaller scale, over the northern part. I need but mention Spruce Hill, in Ross county; Fort Hill in Highland county; Glenford Fort in Perry county; Fort Miami in Hamilton county; Fortified Hill in Butler county; and Fortified Hill in Licking county, to heighten the impression made upon the casual observer of

the extent of the Mound Builders' work and organization in Ohio.

Equally impressive, though fewer in number, are the symbolic mounds of Ohio. Most significant of these are the two Serpent Mounds, one in Adams, the other in Warren county. The Adams county Serpent was purchased, explored, and restored by Professor Putnam, aided by enterprising ladies of Boston, and later deeded, together with the farm containing it, to our society for preservation and perpetuation as a public park. This remarkable effigy, more than 1,300 feet in length, is stretched out on a rocky ridge bordered by cliffs about a hundred feet high, its head resting on the extreme end of the

promontory. From this point the folds of the monster wind gently back toward the open country, ending in two or three close circular coils. The mound consists of fine earth brought from the near vicinity, and rises but a few feet above the general surface. But viewed from the observation tower which our society has erected for the convenience of visitors, the winding form of the huge creature is extremely impressive.

Much additional interest and significance was added to this symbolic work of the Mound Builders when another serpent, of about the same length, was discovered on the Little Miami River near Lebanon, in Warren county. This, too, was on the bank of a stream, a tributary of the Little Miami, and was stretched out with numerous coils into the open country beyond. In both cases the effigies are near populous centers of the Mound Builders, and are where large concourses of people could be accommodated in full view of the object. This effigy has not yet been procured by the State for preservation. But its preservation is an object which our society should ever have in view.

These two mounds can hardly have had any other significance than as symbols of religious ideas current among the people. Taken in connection with the symbolic significance of the serpent the world over, they show either that there is a connection between the serpent worshippers of Ohio and those of the Old World, or that they represent the working of a common religious instinct characteristic of the human race, and distinguishing it from all the lower animals,—thus justifying the definition of man as “a religious animal.”

But the Mound Builders occupied the fair places of our State at a comparative recent date. So far as the evidence goes none of the relics of the Mound Builders need be more than 1,000 years old. President Wm. Henry Harrison was the first to make chronological calculations from the evidences of successive growths of forest trees over the areas containing the mounds and earthworks. From the variety of trees that existed on their first discovery by whites, Harrison inferred the lapse of a very great length of time since their occupation by the Mound Builders. But in no case, probably, can any single tree

found on the mounds be more than 400 or 500 years old. Moreover the state of preservation of such earthworks as Fort Ancient, where eroding agencies have been ever active, clearly shows that they could not have been in existence much more than a thousand years, even if they could have preserved their present condition as long as that.

Whatever be the date of the Mound Builders, however, their career teaches us many important lessons. In every respect they were worthy of being called "our brethren." The relics which they have left impress us with the great natural powers with which they were endowed. In estimating their work we must remember that it was all accomplished with implements of stone. They belonged essentially to the Stone Age, before iron or bronze had found their way to the New World. But with these primitive implements they accomplished wonders. They cleared large areas of heavy forests and prepared the ground for the cultivation of maize and other grains and vegetables native to America. Agriculture was a necessity for the support of the large population indicated by the size and extent of the various mounds and earthworks. The commercial instincts of the Mound Builders compared well with those of the nations that dominate the trade of the world at the present time. Without any of the labor-saving inventions which are the common property of the present industrial world, they yet compassed a continent in which to extend their trade. They purchased obsidian from Yellow Stone Park; dug copper from the ledges of Northern Michigan; mined mica from the mountains of North Carolina; gathered shells from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean and excavated flint in enormous quantities from Flint Ridge in Ohio and from quarries in Southern Illinois and Indiana. They showed their reverence for the dead and for the unseen powers which created and rule the universe, by funeral mounds and symbolical monuments requiring the oversight of extensive and powerful social and religious organizations, and the prevalence of high spiritual aspirations.

Everything which can shed light on the history and attainments of these remarkable people who have left their impress

in so many village sites and fortified centers of our State is highly prized by students of history, sociology, art and religion the world over. It is with peculiar interest that representative archaeologists and anthropologists from the Old World ask the guidance of our society to the most instructive places where we have conducted excavations and preserved ancient monuments, and come from these places to study the collections in our growing museum. It cannot be long till our own citizens shall equally prize these archaeological treasures of our Commonwealth and will organize excursions which shall systematically take them over the State, helping them and their members to appreciate the rich archaeological treasures which are being gathered in this building and which still remain in abundance in our wide open fields. Our citizens may well be urged to know their own possessions before going to the Old World to get the smattering of knowledge which a hasty excursion at great expense can give during a short vacation time.

But Ohio can lay credit to having evidence of man's existence here at a far more distant age than that of the Mound Builders or their immediate progenitors. Indeed, some of the most ancient relics of man anywhere in the world have been found within the borders of our State. As far back as 1885 Dr. C. L. Metz, of Madisonville, near Cincinnati, while carrying on excavations for the Peabody Museum of Cambridge, Mass., came across chipped flint implements of the most ancient type, in undisturbed gravel of glacial age, in the valley of the Little Miami River. Still another implement of similar pattern (palaeolithic) was found in the gravel of the same stream at Loveland. Full description of these discoveries may be found in the reports to the Peabody Museum, and the implements may be seen duly catalogued in its collections.

In 1889, some time before he became the Curator and explorer of our society, but when his methodical and careful methods of observation were well established and recognized, Mr. W. C. Mills discovered a most beautiful implement of palaeolithic type in the undisturbed glacial gravels of the Tuscarawas River at New Comerstown. The account of this may

be found duly inscribed in its proper place in the diary which Professor Mills kept at that early date, and a detailed discussion of the situation in which the implement was found was made by myself and a committee of the Western Reserve Historical Society, and published in the *Popular Science Monthly*. (See vol xliii pp. 29-39.) The evidence of the genuineness of the discovery is as complete as it is possible to make any such discovery depending on human testimony. An interesting point respecting this New Comerstown implement is that it is in shape a perfect replica of some which are found in the glacial gravels of Amiens, France. At the same time it is also in point to mention that the late Professor N. H. Winchell, who made a specialty of determining the relative age of flint implements by the thickness of the patina accumulated on the surface, pronounces this equally old with those from the oldest specimens from France. Moreover the implement is so like the pattern of the French implement that it is a reasonable supposition that American fashions at that time came from Paris as they do at the present time. This implement, with one of my own collection brought from France, are on exhibition in the Museum of the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland.

Another discovery of an implement equally old was made by Mr. Sam Houston, an experienced surveyor and collector of Steubenville, Ohio. This implement, too, is clearly of an early type, and was found in cross-bedded sand and gravel deposits eight feet below the surface of the terrace, which is between seventy and eighty feet above low water. This implement has just been presented to our Society by the children of Mr. Houston and will be found properly displayed in one of our cases.

These four discoveries of relics of glacial man in Ohio are of extreme interest and importance. They carry us back to a period long before the oldest historical dates in the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates. They tell us that man was here with various now extinct animals like the mammoth, the musk ox, and the megalonyx, whose bones have been found in the same deposits. They reveal to our mental vision a state of conditions such as now prevails in Greenland, and a race of hardy hunters

who were following us in the retreating continental Ice Sheet in Ohio as the Eskimo are still doing in Alaska and Greenland. Thus geology and archaeology join hands in our state to shed light on the earliest conditions under which man struggled to maintain his existence in this world of thorns and thistles, of earthquakes and volcanoes, and of waxing and waning ice sheets. The contrast between those conditions and those in which we live is such as to make us pause and give thanks that our lines have fallen in such pleasant places and that we have so goodly an heritage.

REMARKS OF SECRETARY RANDALL.

Following President Wright's address, Mr. Randall, Secretary of the Society, spoke impromptu, giving, in brief, some of the main facts and incidents connected with the origin and history of the Society. He related how in the early months of the year 1875, Isaac Smucker, Stephen D. Peet, Roeliff Brinkerhoff and perhaps, one or two others, met at the home of General Brinkerhoff and organized the Ohio Archaeological Association. Professor John T. Short, of the Ohio State University, and author of "Prehistoric Man in America," was made Secretary of the Society.



E. O. Randall.

The origin of this organization arose from the impulse given to archaeological and historical study by the then approaching American Centennial Exposition to be held at Philadelphia in the year 1876. It was proposed by the new Ohio Society that an exhibit of Ohio Archaeology be made at the coming exhibition. In the prosecution of this purpose appear the names of R. B. Hayes, then governor, Dr. N. S. Townshend, professor O. S. U., Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, M. C. Read, distinguished writer on Archaeology, John H. Klippert, State Geologist, C. C. Baldwin and Charles Whittlesey, respectively president and secretary of Western Reserve Historical Society. These

gentlemen, prominent in the field of scholarship and the study of the archaeology and history of Ohio, secured an appropriation from the General Assembly of \$2,500.00 for the purposes of an Ohio exhibit at Philadelphia. Collections of an archaeological and historical nature were solicited from all parts of the State and the result, in the Centennial Exposition, was that, outside of the National Smithsonian Institution, Ohio had the finest and most interesting exhibit of prehistoric antiquities and historic relics.

Following this brilliant start, the Ohio Archaeological Association struggled upon meagre means and almost purely voluntary efforts of its members, there being no employed agent to properly nurture its existence and growth. It feebly lived until the untimely death (November 11, 1883) of its Secretary and master spirit, Professor Short. The society became inoperative. But the purpose of its members sprang anew. Governor George Hoadly, who took an active interest in all matters pertaining to the archaeology and history of the state, upon his accession to office, conferred with Mr. A. A. Graham, author of the History of Richland county, who had been a participant in the affairs of the Ohio Archaeological Association and who was an enthusiastic student of Ohio Antiquities. The revival of the old society upon broadened lines was decided upon. A meeting for this purpose was called to convene at the office of the Secretary of State, on February 12, 1885. There were present at this meeting, General James S. Robinson, of Kenton; Hon. Chauncey N. Olds, of Columbus; Professor N. S. Townshend and Samuel C. Derby, of Ohio State University; Messrs. J. J. Janney, C. J. Wetmore and A. A. Graham, of Columbus. General Robinson was made chairman and Mr. Graham secretary of the meeting. The object of the gathering was stated to be to consider not only the revival and reorganization of the former Archaeological Society but in addition to develop and emphasize an historical side, which would largely increase the value of the Society and the scope of its labors.

As a result of this conference General Robinson, Professor Townshend and Mr. Graham were appointed a committee to

draft and issue a call for a state convention of those interested in the subject, to be held at Columbus, March 12, 1885.

In pursuance of these instructions the committee prepared a circular which, at some length, stated the object of the proposed society, viz., that of securing the membership and bringing about the cooperation of students, scholars and others interested in the archaeology and history of our state, to explore the earthworks of the prehistoric men, to collect relics and specimens found therein, to gather implements of the Indian period, secure and preserve manuscripts, pamphlets, papers, books, paintings and all other historical material, provide rooms for the proper preservation and arrangement of an archaeological museum and an historical library. This circular was sent to the leading newspapers of the state, which gave it due publicity, to the principal educators and school teachers and to all persons whom it was thought might be interested therein. The responses were prompt and evinced a degree of interest in the movement beyond the expectation of its promoters.

Pending the convention proposed, informal meetings of its protagonists were held in Columbus to perfect arrangements. At one of these Alexis Cope, John W. Andrews and A. A. Graham were appointed a committee to draft a plan of permanent organization. Richard S. Harrison, Henry T. Chittenden and Robert E. Neil were made a committee on arrangements and John J. Janney, Chas. J. Wetmore, Sr., and Samuel S. Rickly were delegated to select temporary officers.

Pursuant to the "call" issued for this convention, about sixty gentlemen, representing all parts of the state and all fields of intellectual endeavor, met in the state library on the morning of Thursday, March 12, 1885. The meeting was called to order by Mr. Rickly, who nominated Allen G. Thurman as chairman, who, on taking the chair, gave a general outline of the work done by the former Archaeological Association, and briefly sketched the work proposed for the new organization. Mr. Graham was elected temporary secretary of the convention. The committee on permanent organization reported articles of incorporation, which, in substance, were: The name of the organization should be the Ohio State Archaeological and His-



Section of Rotunda in Center of Building.

torical Society; its principal place of business should be at the city of Columbus; that it was formed for the purpose of promoting the knowledge of archaeology and history of Ohio, by establishing and maintaining a museum and library, etc.; the society should have no capital stock, and in no way be organized for profit. The articles of incorporation were signed by the charter members.

These articles of incorporation were duly filed with the Secretary of State on March 13, 1885, which was the date of the legal birth of the society.

The committee on organization reported a constitution and by-laws for the society. At the meeting in the afternoon of the same day the first board of trustees was elected.

In the evening of March 12th, the first public meeting of the Society was held in the senate chamber of the capitol, which was well filled with members of the legislature, prospective members of the Society and the public which had been invited. Hon. Allen G. Thurman presided. General R. Brinkerhoff spoke on "The Old Ohio Archaeological Association;" Dr. Israel W. Andrews on "The Beginning of the Colonial System of the United States;" Prof. John B. Peaslee on "Ohio;" Hon. William P. Cutler (grandson of Dr. Manasseh Cutler), on "The Settlement of Ohio;" Hon. Henry B. Curtis on "The Influence of the Character of the Pioneers upon the History of the State," and Dr. William E. Moore on "The Religious History of the State."

On the following day, March 13, the Society met in the state library, when the organization was completed by the election of the officers. [A complete list of the officers and trustees is given at the conclusion of the account of these proceedings.]

It was at that time purposed that a vice president be elected from each of the twenty-one congressional districts of the state, and in furtherance of that proposition vice presidents were elected from a few of the districts. The plan of district vice presidents obtained only a year or two, the plan being found impracticable.

Between the dates of April 24, 1885, and February 18, 1886, the Society held public meetings in Columbus, Hamilton and

Mansfield, at which addresses were delivered by distinguished scholars and speakers. On the latter date (February 18, 1886), the Society held its second annual meeting.* This meeting was held in the State library, Capitol building, Columbus. General Brinkerhoff presided. An open meeting of the Society was held in the evening in the senate chamber, when addresses were made by the historian, Henry Howe, Prof. I. W. Andrews and other distinguished speakers.

At the third annual meeting of the Society (February 23, 1887), it was resolved that the Society issue a publication in pamphlet or magazine form, not less than once per quarter, and this magazine, known as *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, first made its appearance in the following June (1887), under the direction of an editorial committee consisting of Prof. George W. Knight, Burke A. Hinsdale, G. Frederick Wright, William H. Venable and Israel W. Andrews.

This *Quarterly*, under the auspices stated, was published until three volumes were completed, the last in 1891, when the publication was discontinued for lack of funds and the engrossment of the efforts of the Society in other directions. Its publication was resumed in 1894, under the editorial direction of Mr. E. O. Randall, at that time Associate Secretary, and who became a member of the Society in 1885. The twenty-third volume is now (May 30, 1914) in process of publication under the same editorial direction.

The year 1888 was one of intense activity of the Society. That year, under its direction, was held at Marietta the Centennial Celebration of the Northwest Territory, during the 5th and 6th days of April.† At this celebration, under the management of the Society, some of the most distinguished statesmen and scholars of the country participated, viz., Gen. R. B. Hayes; Hon. George F. Hoar; Hon. George B. Loring; Gov. J. B. Foraker; Ex-Gov. Joseph Cox; Hon. William M. Farrar; William Henry Smith; J. Randolph Tucker, of Virginia; Hon. Samuel F.

*This meeting in the records of the annual publications of the Society is mistakenly designated as the first annual meeting.

†Detailed account of the Marietta Centennial will be found in volume 2 of the Society publications.

Hunt; Rev. Edward E. Hale; Dr. A. L. Chapin; Dr. Henry M. Storrs; Hon. John W. Daniel, of Virginia.

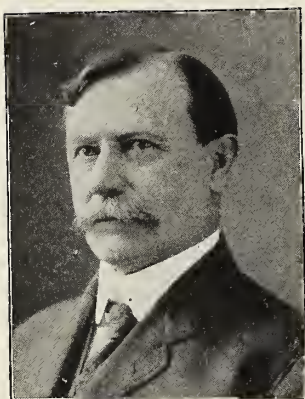
In the fall of this year (1888) the Society, by invitation of the State authorities, cooperated with a state committee appointed by the legislature, in a program of several days' duration, commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Northwest Territory. This celebration was held at Columbus, and at the same time and place the Grand Army of the Republic held its National Encampment.

The fifth annual meeting consisted of two days' session, held January 31 and February 1, 1889, the first day's meeting being held in the senate chamber at Columbus, and the second day's proceedings in Chillicothe, where a banquet was tendered the members of the society by citizens of the first capital of Ohio, and an historical address was delivered by Henry Howe.

In the winter of 1888 and 1889, through the courtesy of Adjutant General H. A. Axline, the society was given space for its museum and library in a room on the third floor, east side, of the State House, where the books and relics were arranged, as well as possible, in shelves and cases. Up to this time the office of the Secretary, Mr. Graham, consisted merely of desk room in one of the alcoves of the state library.

On the days of October 16, 17, 18 and 19, 1890, under the auspices and management of the Society, there was held at the city of Gallipolis a centennial anniversary celebration of the French settlement of that town in the year 1790. The event, most successfully carried out through the aid of the people of Gallipolis, attracted attention of the press throughout the country. Distinguished speakers were present from other states, and historical addresses were delivered by James E. Campbell, Governor of Ohio, Judge R. A. Safford, Gen. Charles H. Grosvenor, Rev. Washington Gladden, Daniel J. Ryan, Rev. J. M. Davis (President, Rio Grande College), Rev. H. A. Thompson (President, Otterbein University), Col. R. D. Marshall, Rev. David Moor (Editor, *The Western Christian Advocate*), Rev. Dr. Lasher (Editor, *Journal and Messenger*), Rev. Sylvester Scoville (President, Wooster College), Bishop Wat-

terson of the Roman Catholic Church, and others. A temporary museum was improvised, in which was exhibited a large collection of historical relics.



Daniel J. Ryan.

At the seventh annual meeting of the Society, held February 18 and 19, 1891, in the state library, an appeal was made to the general assembly for financial aid to the Society, and an appropriation of two thousand dollars asked for its assistance. This was granted, and in addition provision was made whereby the Society came into possession, as custodian, of a portion of Fort Ancient, the first acquisition by the Society of any of the prehistoric mounds of the state. This legislature (the 69th, 1891), also adopted a joint resolution

effecting the semi-official state control of the Society. That resolution was as follows:

"Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That the Governor is hereby authorized to appoint as members of the board of trustees of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, six (6) persons to serve without compensation as follows: Two for the term of one year, two for the term of two years, and two for the term of three years, from the 9th day of February, 1891, and annually thereafter to appoint two persons on said board for the term of three years, but said appointments shall not bind the state to make annual appropriations for said society." (Adopted April 16, 1891.)

This plan, whereby the Governor was to appoint a number of the trustees, was intended to avoid the objection that the state in appropriating funds to the Society had no oversight or control as to its expenditures. From this date the society elected fifteen trustees, five each year to serve for three years, respectively, while the Governor appointed six, two each year to serve three years respectively. Under this resolution Governor Campbell appointed to serve three years (until 1894) Charles P. Griffin, Andrew Robeson; for two years (until 1893)

Israel Williams and E. P. Lockwood; for one year (until 1892) Matthew C. Read and William J. Gilmore.

This same legislature also passed a joint resolution as to the custodianship of Fort Ancient, as follows:

"Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That the care and control of Fort Ancient, shall be vested in the board of trustees of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, who shall hold the lands and property thereon subject to such use as the General Assembly may by law direct." (Adopted April 24, 1891.)

On October 20th, 1892, a special meeting of the society was held, as the result of an excursion for that purpose, at the McCoy House, Chicago, Ill. At this meeting Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes was elected a trustee and president, to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Francis C. Sessions, who died March 25th, 1892, and who was at the time of his death both trustee and president.

There was no ninth (eighth according to old reckoning) annual meeting of the society held in 1893, as there should have been in February of that year, the purpose having been to hold this annual meeting at Chicago, but when that was subsequently attempted the question arose as to the legality of the society holding such meeting without the state of Ohio, and no meeting was held, the trustees holding over, pending the election of the successors of those whose terms expired at this meeting.

The society made an extensive exhibit of archaeological and historical material at the Chicago Columbian Exposition, which was one of the distinguishing features of the exposition, attracting wide attention and eliciting complimentary articles in the newspapers throughout the country. Daniel J. Ryan was president of the Ohio Commission for the Exposition, and A. A. Graham was supervisor of the Society's exhibit.

The trustees, however, held a meeting in the state library, Columbus, April 23, 1893. At this meeting, on account of ill health, Secretary Graham was granted indefinite leave of absence, and Mr. E. O. Randall was chosen associate secretary. The Governor (McKinley), made the usual appointment of two

trustees, viz., E. O. Randall* and Josiah Hartzell, to succeed the retiring trustees, Messrs. Read and Lockwood. These gentlemen were appointed to serve from February 19, 1893, to February 19, 1896. On February 28, 1894, Mr. Hartzell resigned and Mr. A. H. Smythe was appointed by the Governor to fill out the unexpired term.

At the tenth annual meeting of the society, held February 19, 1894, Mr. Randall was chosen temporary secretary and the society accepted the possession of Serpent Mound, in Adams county, it being presented through the instrumentality of Prof. Frederick Putnam to the Society by the trustees of Harvard University. At this meeting, also, Mr. Warren K. Moorehead, who had been chosen by the Ohio State University to take charge of their department of archæology in Orton Hall, was also made Curator of the Society's archaeological museum, and director of its archaeological explorations.

Mr. A. A. Graham tendered his resignation as secretary of the Society on November 10th, 1894, at which time Mr. Randall was elected secretary to succeed him; this office of secretaryship Mr. Randall has held to the present time.

In August, 1895, the society participated in the proceedings of the Greenville Centennial Celebration, the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Greenville Treaty.

On April 3, 1897, Mr. Warren K. Moorehead tendered his resignation as Curator of the Society, which resignation was accepted August 27th, and Mr. Clarence Loveberry, who had been acting as assistant curator, was promoted to the Curatorship.

On September 29, 1898, the Society participated in the Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of Gnadenhutten by John Heckewelder and the Moravian Mission. This celebration was inspired and directed by the Rev. William C. Rice.

On June 1, 1898, William C. Mills was elected by the executive committee as Curator, to serve until February 1, 1899,

* Mr. Randall was subsequently reappointed as trustee successively by Governors Bushnell, Nash, Herrick, Harris, Harmon and Cox, being an uninterrupted service from his first appointment to the present time, a period of twenty-one years.

at which time, at the annual meeting of the society, he was made Curator, which office he has continued to fill, with distinguished service, by successive elections, until the present time.

In the summer of 1899, the American Society for the Advancement of Science, held its national convention at Columbus, under the partial auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which made an excursion to Fort Ancient, with delegates of the Science association as its guests.

In the summer of 1901 the Society, under provisions by the General Assembly, made an archaeological exhibit at the Pan American Exposition, held at Buffalo. The exhibit was under the arrangement and direction of Curator Mills, and was one of the most attractive features of the exposition, bringing the Society into wide repute for its original research in Ohio archaeology, especially the features embracing the period and work of the Mound Builders.



James E. Campbell.

On June 19, 1902, Governor Nash, in accordance with authority granted him by Joint House Resolution No. 53, (75th General Assembly), appointed the following commissioners to cooperate with the Ohio Society in the conducting of the Ohio Cen-

tennial celebration: J. Warren Keifer, Rush R. Sloane, James Barnett, David S. Gray, Charles M. Anderson, and Robert W. Manly. Mr. Randall was chosen secretary of the Centennial Commission. On May 20th and 21st, 1903, under the immediate direction of the Society, there was held at Chillicothe a centennial celebration of the admission of Ohio as a state. It was the most important and interesting historical event in the history of the state. The proceedings are set forth in detail in a separate volume, consisting of some 700 pages, edited by Secretary Randall. During the summer of 1903 the Society made an exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, under the supervision of Curator Mills.

Preliminary to the centennial ceremonies to be held in 1903, under the auspices of the Society, on November 29, 1902, at Chillicothe, an interesting event occurred in the nature of the unveiling of the tablet in the court house, the tablet being a bar relief of Ohio's first Governor, Edwin Tiffin. The tablet was presented for this purpose by Mr. William H. Hunter, one of the trustees of the Society and thorough scholar and extensive writer of early Ohio history. There were many distinguished visitors present, the main address being delivered by Daniel J. Ryan, other speakers being Robert W. Manly, Mayor W. D. Yaple, Judge J. C. Douglas and William T. McClintock.

On September 30, 1905, the Society held public exercises at the site of Big Bottom Park, on the Muskingum river; the location of the historic pioneer stockade which the Indians burned in 1791, massacring nearly all the inmates. This sacred ground, marked by a fine commemorative marble monument, was presented to the Society by Mr. Obediah Brokow. The celebration of the acceptance by the Society was attended by several thousand spectators. Addresses were made by C. L. Martzolff, Tod B. Galloway, D. J. Ryan, R. Brinkerhoff, E. O. Randall and G. F. Wright. James Ball Naylor read a poem written for the occasion.

In the summer of 1907 the Society again exhibited a portion of its museum at the Jamestown Exposition, which exhibit, like its other archaeological exhibits, was a center of attraction, especially among visitors from Ohio, and added much to the fame of the Society because of its work along archaeological lines. This exhibit was also under the excellent supervision of Curator Mills.

For many years Col. Webb C. Hayes had in contemplation the preservation of Spiegel Grove, splendid home of his distinguished father, as a memorial to one of Ohio's great presidents. He wished that this might become the Mt. Vernon of the Buckeye State, and finally selected our Society as the proper agent for the carrying out of this loyal idea. After conferences with the trustees and proper agreements as to plans therefor, on March 31, 1909, Col. Hayes delivered to the Society his



Staircase in Rotunda.

deed for 10.77 acres, known as the "Harrison Trail," through Spiegel Grove, Fremont.

On March 10th, 1910, Colonel Hayes presented to the Society, through deed of that date, ten acres, more or less, being the remaining portion of Spiegel Grove property, excepting some five acres embracing the residence.

At the time of the delivery of the second deed, Colonel Hayes also placed in escrow a third deed, to the Society, covering the remaining five acres, including the homestead, the complete delivery of the latter deed being conditioned on certain homestead reservations and upon the agreement that the Society, within a certain specified time, would erect, on the ground to be transferred, a fireproof building for the permanent housing of the library and historical documents of the late President R. B. Hayes.

The conditions of these deeds have nearly been complied with by the completion of a beautiful memorial library and museum building, which was provided for by appropriation by the General Assembly in the session of 1911.

The dedication of this building is but a few weeks off, and at that time the history of the transfer of Spiegel Grove to our Society and the erection of an appropriate museum and library building will be related and proper credit given to the patriotic generosity and filial devotion of Colonel Hayes.

July 17, 1912, the executive committee, having previously been authorized so to do, accepted the property known as Logan Elm Park, from the Pickaway Historical Association. The donation of this park to the Society was made possible by the active efforts of Mrs. Dr. Howard Jones and the liberality of Miss Elizabeth Ruggles, who donated the funds with which the Pickaway County Historical Society obtained the title which it transferred to our Society.

On October 2nd, 1912, the State Society dedicated the Logan Elm, carrying out a program that was most unique and interesting. It happened to be at the time of the meeting at Columbus of the National Association of American Indians, many of whom were the guests of the State Society and who proceeded to Logan Elm Park and participated in the exercises.

Addresses were made by Mrs. Howard Jones, Frank Tallmadge, G. Frederick Wright, Chase Stewart, Curator Mills, Secretary Randall and by Charles E. Dagenett of the Peoria tribe of Indians and Fred E. Parker of one of the Iroquois tribes. Several Indians representing the Sioux, Chippewa, Winnebago, Seneca, Mingo, Osage, Cherokee, Cheyenne, and other tribes were present, and all spoke with much feeling and praise concerning the great Mingo chief Logan, whose speech was supposed to have been delivered—at least read by Captain Gibson to Dunsmore's army—on the very spot where the present speakers were holding the dedicatory exercises. Miss Calvert of the Sioux tribe, South Dakota, read Logan's speech.

Such, in brief, is a running chronicle of the more important events in the history of the Society to the present time. All these incidents mentioned have been fully related in the annual or special publications of the Society. That this history, alluded to in so desultory a way, represents the expenditure of great labor and patience on the part of the officers goes without saying. Like all achievements of human effort, the growth of this Society from its beginning to its splendid accomplishment to-day is the story of patience and struggle. At times we have met with obstacles and opposition from without, chiefly from the fact that the popular idea had prevailed in some quarters that the purpose and workings of this Society were sentimental and ideal rather than practical and utilitarian—in short, that it is a luxury for the enjoyment of faddists, archaeological cranks and historical enthusiasts. The greatest work which our Society has accomplished, to my mind, has been the education in archaeology and history it has brought about in the State of Ohio; that such an institution not only has a purpose but that that purpose has been worth while and is one of the most important features of public education, namely, the inculcation in the youth of a knowledge of the past, a study of history. To know archaeology and history is to know the human race, and to know the human race is no small acquisition. The Society has had its critics, indeed its enemies, but that was to be expected. It is the lot of every successful effort.

The chief aims of the Society have been: the research in archaeological lines, particularly concerning that mysterious people known as the "Mound Builders," in the relics of whom this state is richer than any other state in the Union; to preserve these relics and learn as much as possible about the people who created them; to gather, preserve and make public the historical data of the state. We have not succeeded, possibly, as have the societies of some other states in the gathering of original material, for two reasons. Such material had been greatly scattered or destroyed before our Society came into existence, and one other society, that of Wisconsin, was in the field before us and for years literally scoured the state for manuscripts



Edwin F. Wood.

and documents relating to our early history. And until the acquisition of this building we have had no facilities for the preservation or handling of such material. Our library, however, has grown with leaps and bounds, until now it contains some five thousand volumes, representing the publications of nearly all the historical societies of the country, and with the acquisition of the Hayes library at Fremont—the most complete private collection of Americans in the country—our Society in this respect, namely, historical bibliography, will be second to none.

We have, however, performed a great and lasting work in disseminating the material that we have collected and preserved, in popular publications which, through the liberal provisions of the General Assembly, have been widely placed with the libraries, newspapers and parties especially interested in such work.

I have received many testimonials, among them those from the professors of American history both at Harvard and Yale, saying that no state society has done so much to disseminate, among the schools and students, the history of its state, as has our Society. We feel, therefore, that we have, in no small measure, "made good" in our efforts, and that the state has

been thoroughly justified in giving us the financial aid which it has done. The Society is certainly upon a most substantial basis for it now possesses or has the control and custodianship of property aggregating nearly half a million dollars in value.

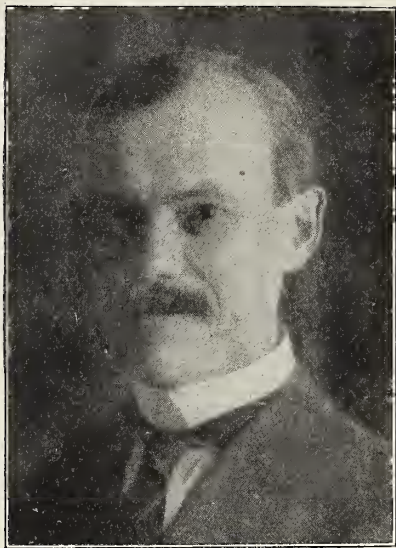
It would be quite impossible, owing to lack of time, for me to give due credit to the many gentlemen for whose assistance we are indebted. First of all, great credit should be given to the building committee, and particularly to its chairman, Mr. Lewis P. Schaus, than whom it would be difficult to find a man better qualified for that position, as he has had much experience in the erection of public buildings. He has devoted a large part of his time for the past two years to the Society, without any reward save that of the interest he has taken in the work, being in hearty sympathy with its purpose and accomplishments. The other members of the committee have rallied to the support of the chairman with unusual harmony and enthusiasm. Nor should we omit to mention the services of our treasurer, Mr. Edwin F. Wood, whose responsibility has been to oversee the financial accountings and make the proper adjustments between the state and the Society.

The architect, Joseph N. Bradford, professor in the architectural department of the University, has acquitted himself with distinct honor. It was a fortunate stroke for the Society when it secured his services. His labors speak for themselves in the efficient and successful manner in which he carried out the general ideas and suggestions of the building committee.

Moreover we have been exceedingly fortunate in finding friends when and where most needed.

Almost from the beginning of my secretaryship, in addition to my yearly duty of presenting to the finance committees of the legislature the needs of our Society, my efforts were directed toward securing an appropriation for this building. Time and again I appeared before the finance committees of the Legislature and plead, with all the persuasion within me, that the state give us a local habitation and a home. Bills were introduced either separately or in conjunction with the general appropriations, having a building in view. But all in vain. Finally the psychological moment came, when the Finance Com-

mittee of the House of the 79th General Assembly, of which committee Mr. Harry L. Goodbread was chairman, gave us favorable hearing, and the item of fifty thousand dollars each year for the years 1911 and 1912 was inserted in the general appropriation bill. Governor Judson Harmon, who was one of our interested and appreciative members, gave the project his approval — without which the passage of the item would have been in vain — and the finance committee of the Senate, of which Mr.



Joseph N. Bradford.

William N. Shaffer was chairman, fell into line. In this connection, however, we are deeply indebted to the efforts in our behalf of Senator Thomas A. Dean, member of the Senate Finance Committee. The result of these fortuitous circumstances was the securing not only the funds for this building, but the memorial one for Spiegel Grove. The present building, in which these exercises are now held, is the crowning climax of twenty years of undiscouraged and unremitting effort. Certainly we are to be congratulated in our final triumph.

Those of you who have visited St. Paul's Cathedral in London, will recall that there is no statue or tablet to the memory of its great architect; Sir Christopher Wren, but in the basement, in an almost obscure corner, set in the stone floor, is a small bronze plate, upon which is engraved the name of the architect, beneath which are the words "Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice," which translated reads "If you ask for my monument, look about you." And so I would say, ladies and gentlemen, as to the present officers of the Archaeological and Historical Society, if you ask for their monument, look about you.

REPORT OF LEWIS F. SCHAUS,
Chairman Building Committee.

Mr. President, and Members of the Society: In June, 1912, the contract for the erection of this beautiful building was let, at which time the plans and specifications prepared for its erection were placed in the hands of your building committee with instructions to carry out the designs to a successful completion. How well this duty has been performed, the building speaks for itself. The work was carried on as rapidly as possible. There were some unavoidable delays for want of necessary material, but the building was finally completed almost on time, as required by the terms of the contract. The building was accepted from the contractors and settlement made on January 9th, 1914. A detailed account of the various transactions required in the construction of this building will be given by Prof. Mills, Secretary of the Building Committee.

This magnificent building is to be devoted to the material interests of the people of this enlightened, cultured and highly favored state. The generations yet to come will gaze with pride upon this noble pile, and under its shelter, prosecute the work appropriate to its several apartments. The enterprise, liberality and wisdom of the men of today will not be forgotten. Future generations will pay due homage to your memory for this invaluable inheritance, and it will stand as a glorious monument of the estimate put by you upon the value of education, in promoting a knowledge of Archaeology and History in this fair State, and may the Great Architect of the Universe shape their minds to a still higher appreciation of your valuable services.

And now, Mr. President, as Chairman of the Building Committee, I take great pleasure in returning to you the plans and specifications intrusted to our hands at the beginning of this undertaking, and formally turn over this beautiful building, complete in all its parts, to your care and keeping.

REPORT OF WILLIAM C. MILLS,
Secretary Building Committee.

I trust as Secretary of the Building Committee of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society that a brief history of the building, including its cost as it now stands, will be of interest at this time.

The appropriation of \$100,000 for this building was made by the 79th General Assembly, 1911. It was presented to the assembly through the Auditor of State's office and acted upon favorably and recommended for passage by the finance committee of the house of which Hon. Harry L. Goodbread of Wyandot County was the chairman and by the same committee of the senate of which Hon. William N. Shaffer of Paulding County was chairman.



W. C. Mills.

The appropriation passed without a dissenting voice.

The succeeding Legislature granted an additional \$10,000 for building equipment.

It was definitely understood that the trustees of the University would supply the site for the building, and in accordance with this understanding the present site was suggested by the University authorities and accepted by the trustees of the Society. The trustees of the University courteously extended the services of the University architect, Prof. J. N. Bradford, which were accepted. Prof. Bradford and his associates worked diligently during the summer and autumn of 1911 to perfect a building to care for our present wants and capable of the proper expansion necessary for a growing museum and library.

The problem was a very difficult one as the Curator was to furnish the necessary data, secured by the inspection and study of similar buildings, and the architect to build a classic edifice to occupy certain space.

The building committee, consisting of Mr. L. P. Schaus, chairman, Geo. F. Bareis, E. O. Randall, D. J. Ryan, E. F. Wood, G. F. Wright and W. C. Mills, Secretary, will long remember the three advertised lettings, with its many meetings and discussions lasting through the entire winter and spring of 1912, and finally, on June 8, 1912, the contract for the building proper was awarded to the Dawson Construction Company of Pittsburg and the heating, plumbing and electric wiring to the Wm. H. Conklin Company of Columbus, both bids coming within the estimate made by the architect.

The architect's plans, as finally approved by the trustees of the Society, called for a building 200 feet by 57 feet. It is so constructed that when required additions may be made so as to construct a rectangle with a court in the center. Our present structure therefore occupies practically one-fourth of the space allotted for a contemplated larger building.

At 7:15 a. m. on the morning of June 25, 1912, the Curator, on behalf of the building committee, removed from the north-east corner of the site of the building, the first shovel of earth for the erection of an educational institution for all the people of the great state of Ohio.

On the afternoon of Sept. 12th, 1912, the corner-stone was laid with simple and appropriate exercises. The final completion of the building was made Dec. 12th, 1913, something like six weeks after the expiration of the time limit. This slight delay was caused by the serious flood of March 25, 1913, and the architect gladly granted the builder the extension of time because of this unforeseen disaster.

No one was seriously hurt during the year and a half of construction, although the material, by the nature of its bulk and weight, had to be handled by machinery.

The building is purely classic in structure, both interior and exterior. First of all it has the quality of permanence without and within, the structure being in restrained beauty and dignity in the design, the material and the decorative treatment. It is most appropriate for its uses and a real inspiration to those who know the building and to those who avail themselves of the opportunities it affords.

The architect, as per instructions of the building committee, eliminated every possibility of fire, as no wood is employed in its construction, excepting the stair rail; the windows and doors are made of steel; the exterior is made of Bedford limestone; the front entrance doors are constructed of bronze made after a special design of the architect; the rotunda is constructed throughout in Caen stone and the stairways leading to the exhibition rooms on the second floor are of Tennessee marble; the south end of the building is devoted to the library of the Society, where provision has been made for the necessary extension, as required by the growing library. The library furniture is made of steel and grained mahogany. Adjoining the library are the offices of the Curator and Trustees' room, all of which are equipped with steel furniture, grained mahogany, furnished by the Sage Cabinet Company of Marietta, Ohio.

The building is also furnished with four large vaults, fitted with combination locks, one connected with each of the exhibition rooms and one connected with the office of the Curator. The vaults will be used for the preservation of manuscripts, papers and other valuable objects.

The exhibition room at the north end of the building will be used for the historical collections of the Society and the entire second floor will contain the archaeological collections of the Society. The cases in the rooms above are made of mahogany by the Columbus Show Case Company. The electric light fixtures are made of bronze, are of special design for the building and were furnished by the Post-Glover Electric Company of Cincinnati. The elevator is the latest improved electric elevator and was furnished by the Otis Elevator Company, Chicago. The vacuum cleaning system was furnished and installed by the McKeever Electric Company of this city.

This building contains in round numbers 600,000 cubic feet and the cost per cubic foot for the building alone, was 16 $\frac{1}{5}$ cents; including the furniture, elevator, vacuum cleaner, as you see it today, 18 $\frac{8}{15}$ cents per cubic foot. A few comparisons of the cost of the various buildings of like character in this country will be of interest. The Wisconsin Historical Society building cost for construction alone 20 cents per cubic foot, in-

cluding furnishing and equipment 29 cents per cubic foot. Milwaukee Public Museum 21 cents per cubic foot for construction alone. Chicago Public Library 43 cents per cubic foot complete. State Library of Richmond, Va., 23 cents per cubic foot for construction. The Boston Public Library cost 70 cents per cubic foot, but, as you perhaps know, this building is very handsomely furnished and decorated. These figures as to construction are most interesting and instructive; they exhibit the fact that this beautiful museum and library building of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has been constructed and equipped at a minimum cost to the state of Ohio. Certainly the people have received their money's worth and now, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to say on behalf of the faithful chairman of the building committee, Mr. Lewis P. Schaus, as well as the committee itself, that they have attempted to erect this building with the same care as to expense and quality that they would have exercised in building for themselves and it is confidently believed that the trust committed to them has been administered upon a prudent and businesslike basis.

* * * *

Following the reports of the building committee, ex-Governor Campbell, representing Governor James M. Cox, who, much to his expressed regret, was unable to be present, received the building in behalf of the state. In his remarks, which were most happy, Governor Campbell spoke of the work of the Society through the many years of its history, the indefatigable efforts of its officers, his own personal interest in its progress, and the gratification he took as the first governor to appoint trustees, and now, as one of its trustees himself, in behalf of the absent governor, to receive it from the building committee and turn it over to the officers of the Society.

In behalf of the Society and its officers, Vice President Daniel J. Ryan accepted the building. He spoke with much appreciation of the value of such an institution to the state, its educational and intellectual efforts, emphasizing the fact that in these modern days, when materialism so monopolizes all social and mental effort, there is greater need of organizations like this one, to foster and perpetuate the historical and scientific lines of study.

ADDRESS OF ISAAC J. COX.

[The subject of Prof. Cox's address was "Ohio and Western Sectionalism." Prof. Cox is professor of American History in the University of Cincinnati. He is president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society and was formerly president of the Ohio Valley Historical Society.]

It is a truism to state that natural forces determine the essential facts of history, but at the same time, we may assert that men of vision show the way in which these forces are to express themselves. In this brief attempt, therefore, to give a perspective to some features of Ohio history, I shall naturally emphasize a few of those that have contributed to its growth and around them group those forces that make for local and regional development and in the end for national strength.



Isaac J. Cox.

The sectional forces that were to rule in this region, and which were ultimately to merge it with the Union, have their origin in the most remote phases of history. Long before the coming of the white man, the aborigines pursued lines of internal communication that suggest

the commercial routes of a later day. Even before the aborigines, the buffalo, and before him prehistoric animals that have long since disappeared, suggested lines of travel and congregation that are familiar to us. The chief physiographic features of a prehistoric age and of our own day are based on the fact that to the eastward of this region rose the mountain barrier of the Alleghanies; that past its western borders flowed the mighty torrent of the Mississippi; to the north lay the largest group of fresh water lakes on the surface of the globe; while its southern shores were washed by the waters of the Mexican Gulf. Through its interior, dividing it into two equal sections, wound the beautiful Ohio, the destined course of western empire. These were the es-

sential factors that determined the ultimate development of a western sectionalism which would either weld distant areas into a more perfect Union; or, if perverted, cause them to separate into warring fragments. Whether in the Union or out of it, the trans-Alleghany section must exert an influence second to no other. That this section has been ultimately devoted to nationalism, was largely determined by the position of the Ohio Valley and the fact



Section of Library Room, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Building.

that its northern portion was the first important offspring of the American Union.

Passing over those influences contributed by the beasts of the wilderness and by primeval man—influences which in themselves are of singular importance and well worth the study of this and similar organizations, we come to the advent of civilization and propose to show how the men of the western waters first developed a stalwart sectionalism, which in turn became an important element in our national existence. We may term this

the period of approach, and it is fittingly ushered in by the romantic figure of the French explorer, Robert Cavalier de LaSalle. The incidents of his presence in the upper portion of the Ohio Valley and within the present limits of our state, are not sufficiently well known to require more than the most brief generalization, but taken in connection with his whole career, we may suggest that to the pioneer Frenchman there appeared in this trans-Alleghany region, a triple vision that the succeeding centuries have abundantly confirmed. In the first place, LaSalle had a vision of the commercial possibilities of this section. The fur trade that led so many pioneer Frenchmen into the wilds of the vast interior or to the frozen regions of the North, presented its attraction to this intrepid Frenchman. He relied upon this single form of natural wealth to achieve his far-reaching plans of national aggrandizement. It proved inadequate as an expression of the boundless resources of this region, yet the fur trade that he and his contemporaries initiated served to support a pioneer existence in which Frenchman, Briton and American played their parts, and developed lines of expansion that terminated only with the frozen Arctic and the far Pacific. Now teeming multitudes, alien to the great explorer, gain from our natural wealth a richness of life of which he was only dimly aware.

A second vision that was granted to LaSalle was that through this system of interior waterways, he might open up a way of approach to Mexico. It was this prospect that led the *Grand Monarque* to give him permission to penetrate the vast interior of North America. It is true that in his later efforts, LaSalle emphasized the routes through Illinois rather than those to the Eastward, but his brief tarrying on the upper courses of the Ohio, while contemplating a chance of approach to the Spanish dominions, for all time to come linked this immediate region with the lure of the far Southwest. Following him as the pioneer adventurer, came a host of others whose later visions were tantalized by the inexhaustible wealth of the Mexican mines. More than a century later the western boatmen of this section formed recruiting force for the filibustering expeditions with which Burr and his contemporaries vainly attempted to reach the same goal

that beckoned the indomitable Frenchman. Incidentally we may say it was no policy of watchful waiting or benevolent assimilation that attracted these worthies.

A third vision that stirred the ambitious Frenchman was the hope that the river along which he was passing, leading into still other and mightier streams, in due time might find its way into the distant Vermilion Sea. Thus it appeared to him that he was on a commercial highway to the Pacific and to the far East, a possible route that had attracted explorers since the days of Columbus. Again LaSalle was a prophet far in advance of his time, for it is only in our own day, with means and with measures that he could not have dreamed of, that we are about to open this highway between the cloven continents. Through a system of improvements that give us access to the Gulf and the Caribbean; through this wonderful channel that actually bridges a continent, we now behold a chain of communication from the foothills of the Alleghanies to the uttermost parts of the former Spanish Main and to the distant Indies themselves. Yet in the proud day of achievement, let us not forget that upon some portion of this very soil, LaSalle first conceived this wonderful triple vision which has materialized into the political unity of the interior of the American continent, the commercial unity of both Americas and the essential solidarity of all nations bordering on the Pacific.

With the vision of marvelous growth came the portent of mighty conflict. English explorers were approaching this western region even in the time of LaSalle, but some forty years passed ere their early representatives began to affect their governmental policy. The figure that can best be compared with LaSalle is the Virginia executive, Alexander Spottswood. With his interest early aroused in this western country he was led to predict that it would become the scene of conflict between the French and English of North America, a full half century before this actually broke out. He led in a notable attempt to explore this western country, and although he reached only the crest of the Blue Ridge, he imagined that through the haze of that summer day in 1716, he beheld the distant waters of Lake Erie. While his exaggerated report represents a vision of faith rather than of

reality, we may well believe that had he been given an insight into the future comparable to the reality of his supposed vision, he would have been doubly insistent on securing this mighty empire that had beckoned him westward. As a result of his survey, we know that he emphasized the importance of aggressive action in seizing this territory ere the enemies of England should occupy it and roll the tide of war through the mountain passes and over the colonies to the Eastward. He would divide French settlements to the North and to the South by a series of projected English posts leading to the waters of Lake Erie and even into the wilds beyond. But like the great LaSalle, his prophecy and his importunity alike remained unheeded until threatening peril a half century later aroused the English to a sense of imminent danger.

The prospect of international conflict grew with each decade of the eighteenth century. Gradually the French approached the upper portion of the Ohio Valley. As a sort of final effort in their insidious advance, occurred the expedition of Celeron de Bienville, who in 1748 attempted to mark Bourbon dominion in this region by placing leaden plates at the mouths of certain rivers. This inconclusive method of planting lead promised to be succeeded by other chances when, two years later, Christopher Gist crossed the Alleghanies, prospecting for that "good level land" that has tempted the English-speaking people to the uttermost parts of the earth. The work of Gist and of Boone, fit representatives of a long line of hunters, surveyors, prospectors and settlers, promised a conflict not merely with the French but also with the Indians, who claimed this western territory by immemorial right. The details of this long-drawn out and ever-doubtful struggle, form a page without rival in the history of human expansion. Here Gaul and Briton contended for overlapping claims. Here civilization and savagery carried on their never-ending conflict that leads to only one result. And in the midst of this warfare of primeval and international forces a new nation likewise came into being to receive its baptism on Ohio soil in the following imperishable words: "Love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert

every power that is within us for the defense of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous, or tumultuous manner but when regularly called for by the unanimous voice of our countrymen." In this prophetic manner was national liberty and union prefigured on the soil of our state November 5, 1774, by western pioneers, called out by a British governor in pursuit of the savage. From the midst of this frontier conflict there emerged the hope of na-



Section of Historical Museum Room.

tionality; in the later expression of a multitude of such resolutions, nationality itself.

Of the great figures who played their titanic parts in this double contest with natives and with national rivals, we can only make the barest mention, but in passing we must briefly note one who occupies an unapproachable position in our national history, but who incidentally drew from this western country many of the qualities that rendered him first in the hearts of his countrymen and foremost among the men of modern times. George

Washington, the young surveyor, was an early western prospector, a diplomatic messenger between the contending factions of England and of France, a frontier commander in the most cruel days of the struggle for the upper Ohio Valley, and a shrewd speculator in western lands both before and after the contest with the mother country. A man of vision, who saw in this western country one of the strongest ties to bind together the original states that formed the American Union, he felt that the essential problem of the West was one of communication. Once this were solved, the central government need fear neither the natural disruptive spirit of the pioneer nor the temptations of British or Spanish hirelings. In his closing days he exerted the power reposed in him by the new nation to defend the outlying communities that it had created. Thus in his public career of nearly half a century, he contributed to every significant movement that affected this western land and in the end saw its destiny safely united to the nation which was at once its creator and its beneficiary.

It was not to be expected that the idea of separation cherished by the physical features of the country, the pioneer spirit of its earlier inhabitants, and the vicious intrigues of British and Spanish agents, would easily disappear. When LaSalle and Spottswood marked this region as the scene of conflict for supremacy between their respective nations, they stirred up forces that would long survive them. Even when the population of the Ohio valley was politically united with that of the states of the eastward, with many ties of kindred origin to make this union permanent, these personal and physical forces still tended to sectionalism and even to a movement for independence. The worst of these forces center around the career of General James Wilkinson. Willing to employ the commercial opportunities of the region to his advantage, he turned the commendable demand of the western people for an outlet to the Gulf into a means for commercial bargaining with the Spaniard. His visit to New Orleans in 1787 ushers in the most corrupt intrigue in our political annals. Fortunately in that same year there was inaugurated a national movement that was destined not only to counteract his intrigues but to prevent their more far-reaching effects.

The Congress under the Confederation—the same body that had proposed to limit the sale of western lands and close the Mississippi for a period of years—more than atoned for its remissness in these respects by the famous Ordinance creating the territory northwest of the Ohio. This wise measure of state policy has proved to be the best gift which the East ever bestowed on the West, and our own state of Ohio, the first fruit of this policy, has been the one to profit most by it. Through its provisions the new territory was to secure freedom in religion, freedom and encouragement in education, freedom in the distribution of property, and last and by no means the least, freedom from the worst effects of the institution of slavery.

The best results of this policy were not immediately apparent. Under national auspices new western communities were founded, whose outlying settlements must be protected from the murderous savage. After mortifying failures, Washington, the firm and far-sighted friend of the West, selected his former subordinate Wayne to accomplish this necessary task. It is interesting to note that in the campaign of 1793-94, the campaign which redeemed the greater part of Ohio from the Indian peril, Wayne, the representative of stalwart nationalism, and Wilkinson, the agent of perfidious intrigue, were closely but not intimately associated. Wilkinson hampered Wayne in his fundamental purpose, and by so doing, misled rather than represented the Kentucky contingent. Fortunately he was unable to overthrow the other's plans and ultimately the victory at Fallen Timbers gave a new impulse to nationalism in the West, and partially broke the Spanish spell over the wavering Wilkinson.

When another phase of sectionalism showed itself in the famous Kentucky resolution of 1798-99, it awoke an answering response north of the Ohio River. Here the forces of Federalism and those of particularism were engaged in a contest over the division of the territory and the admission of a portion into the Union as a state. Fortunately this new sectional development was merged into a national movement by the election of Jefferson in 1800. This peaceful democratic revolution was shortly followed by the admission of Ohio as the seventeenth state

of the American Union. Thus, in the course of two decades, the national movement which was ushered in by the cession of western territory to the general government, developed to full fruition in the admission of the first of the states from the ceded territory. Ohio, as the child of the national government, never forgot its filial devotion to its creator.

It was hardly likely that the states of this western region, though adopted or created by the national government, should immediately abandon all strictly sectional feeling. Their leaders emphasized this when they forced the War of 1812 upon the hesitant Madison. Ohio, like its sister state of Kentucky, opposed the national policy represented by the Second United States bank, and quoted from the Kentucky and other similar resolutions to justify its attitude. Our state likewise asserted a particularistic policy to justify its claims to the Toledo district, even though this policy brought into question the Ordinance of 1788, under which it was created. But at length those measures for which it had most strenuously fought, either alone or in company with its sister states, became cardinal principles of national policy.

On the other side of the picture it is comforting to note that Ohio and her sister states of the Northwest played a conspicuous part in combatting some of the expressions of western sectionalism during the early 19th century. It assisted to arouse public opinion and force the problem of the open Mississippi upon Jefferson's administration. This led to the acquisition of Louisiana, the most significant national event after the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution. In company with Kentucky, but even more instrumental than that state, Ohio gave the deathblow to the Burr conspiracy, whatever that movement represented. Burr himself is reported to have said that he felt confident of all the western people except those of Ohio. He told Tupper, of Marietta, "You should make yourself of consequence." Her sons abundantly followed this injunction. Side by side Kentucky and Ohio fought the British in the War of 1812, with Perry's victory and the Thames river to mark their final success in expelling the invader; if not in pushing their conquests into Canada. In this same struggle the last significant Indian confederacy under Tecumseh was dissolved and the Indian peril removed from the Northwest. In these events Kentucky

played the part of elder sister, for which it was to receive its reward a half-century later.

During this warfare, two conspicuous figures received the stamp of Ohio. William Henry Harrison, a representative of Virginia, who settled between the Miamis, did yeoman service against the savages that threatened Indiana and Illinois, while Lewis Cass took up the task of the nerveless Hull and was the



Section of Archaeological Museum. Room.

most tireless opponent of British intrigue in the Northwest. It was fitting that these two men should later play a conspicuous national part, the one as a brief occupant of the presidential chair and the other as a prominent candidate for the same position. Through the irony of fate, the Virginian, Harrison, represented the nationalistic tendencies of a later generation while the New Englander, Cass, was an active supporter of the latter particularistic doctrine of popular sovereignty.

Thus far we have considered the part played by Ohio in

early western sectionalism. Time fails, although the day and occasion demand some attention to that bitter discussion which emphasized a later sectional movement in our country. In the beginning the line of sectionalism followed the course of the Alleghany mountains, and a possible cleavage threatened to divide the country into an East and a West. This was suggested by La-Salle and repeated by a later Frenchman, Laussat, on the eve of the Louisiana transfer. Many intervening measures of popular policy emphasized this tendency, but all real danger of such a sectionalism disappeared with the overthrow of Burr's abortive attempt. The more threatening slavery discussion produced a sectionalism, from which emerged a North and South. Many of the events in Ohio's history suggest a wavering upon this question. During the critical days of the Nullification Controversy, William Henry Harrison, Junior, voiced the Union sentiment which the older generation of his section cherished as well as his own, in these stirring phrases: "Born and raised a freeman, and my ancestors having contributed freely, and risked much to gain, maintain, and support our happy government, I feel an indignation I cannot express against those who are for raising the standard of *Nullification*, which I consider a decent term for rebellion and treason." Then in characteristic Ohio fashion he commends himself to the President as commander of a regiment of volunteers, and promises within a month after marching to "ride through the streets of Charleston."

Less than a decade later Ohio is interested in the projected construction of railroads to the seaboard. One of the favorite proposals was to connect Cincinnati with Charleston. Robert Y. Hayne was the president of the company that urged the project and one wonders how history might have been changed had it been realized at that time rather than in our own day. Influences were then at work to break this desired connection with the Southeast. The names of Levi Coffin, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Thomas Morris, Joshua Giddings and Salmon P. Chase, to mention no others, indicate a personal influence that in time turned Ohio into an anti-slavery state. When as a result of their efforts the slavery question became a national issue, and when in eleven of the commonwealths the die was cast in favor of seces-

sion, it was the positive attitude of Ohio that largely restrained western Virginia and Kentucky from taking the same step. In this way did our state repay the debt incurred by her during the long period of struggle against the Indians and British.

In this mournful sectional conflict we must pass over the long list of names that constitute Ohio's honorable muster-roll. Suffice it to indicate in the career of two of the names of this period and the contrasting influences that affected her people. At the outbreak of this struggle, William Tecumseh Sherman was the popular president of the institution which has since become the University of Louisiana. Pressed to espouse the side of secession, he refused to lift his hand against the Union. Later uttering his opinion that 200,000 men were necessary to hold the Mississippi Valley, he was regarded as a fit subject for a mad-house. But Ohio herself furnished more than half as many again before the men of the western waters accomplished the task of reopening the Mississippi and of sweeping around the Alleghanies, through Georgia, to the seaboard.

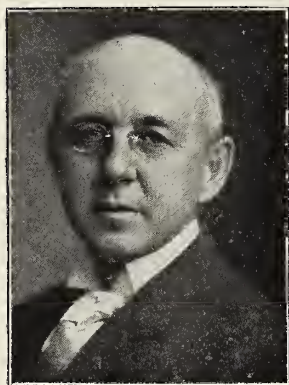
Contrast with his position this expression from a speech of Clement L. Vallandigham: "The war of the Union is in your hands, a most bloody and costly failure." It was indeed most bloody, for it was sanctified with the best blood of the nation, North and South. It was most costly; after a lapse of a half century we are still paying for it. But was it a failure? Let Santiago and Vera Cruz, distant Manila and Peking reassure the halting few that survive the mighty test. Ohio thus nobly refused to put its stamp of approval on Vallandigham's dictum.

In this hurried sketch of an earlier sectional movement that influenced the later life of our State, one may discern the mighty impulses that have quickened the life of commonwealth, section, and nation. The interplay of these forces afford the most significant problems of our national government. To ascertain how they act and with what ultimate result, is a task that engages the best efforts of historical training. That these efforts may be aided and rendered effective, is the aim of The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, and of every similar organization of our land. In its museums, its libraries, its manuscript collections are to be found materials for exploiting the workings

of these forces. The efforts of those in charge are directed to the best utilization of this material and they should be sustained and supported in their endeavors to make it still more useful. With this in mind, may we not anticipate a development in which this Society as a parent organization shall create others, representing each county of our State, all engaged in collecting the vast resources of historical scholarship and in rendering them available to specialists? These in turn must by their labors show the general public the importance of our local and sectional history, and the necessity for preserving its data. In this way we may render still further honor to those who have made the history of our state famous and incite others to make its present and future development equally significant and equally valuable in the life of our common country.

* * * * *

Following the address of Prof. Cox, addresses of greeting and congratulation to the Society were made by Mrs. Ella May Smith, of Columbus, representing the New England Historic Genealogical Society, located at Boston, Mass; Mr. Charles F. Brush, of Cleveland, Ohio, representing the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, Pa.



Julius F. Stone.

In the absence of Dr. W. O. Thompson, president of the Ohio State University, who was unable to be present, Julius F. Stone, member of the board of trustees of the University, spoke in behalf of the latter institution. He dwelt upon the fact that, although the Society now coming into possession of this building was entirely independent in its organization and work, yet there was a mutual interest between it and the University. The trustees of the University had been very glad to grant to the Society ground upon which its

building might be erected. Indeed, they had accorded it the choicest site upon the entire campus, and in this policy they had

not been mistaken, as the building, owing to its architectural beauty, was a desirable addition to the University surroundings. The relations of the two institutions have always been harmonious, and he knew would be still more so under the more advantageous conditions now granted the Society. It would afford rare opportunity to the students and instructors of the University to avail themselves of the uses of the museum and library of the Society.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

(1885 to 1914.)

Presidents:

Allen G. Thurman, 1885 to 1887.

Francis C. Sessions, 1887 to 1892. (Died March 25, 1892.)

Rutherford B. Hayes, 1892 to 1893. (Died Jan. 17, 1893.)

Roeliff Brinkerhoff, 1893 to 1908.

G. Frederick Wright, 1908; still serving.

First Vice Presidents:

Henry B. Curtis, 1885. (Died Nov. 5, 1885.)

Francis C. Sessions, 1886 to 1887.

Roeliff Brinkerhoff, 1887 to 1891; 1892 to 1893.

William E. Moore, 1891 to 1892; 1894 to 1899. (Died June 5, 1899.)

George B. Wright, 1899 to 1903. (Died Sept. 11, 1903.)

George F. Bareis, 1899; still serving.

*Second Vice Presidents: **

Roeliff Brinkerhoff, 1885 to 1887; 1891 to 1892.

William E. Moore, 1887 to 1891; 1892 to 1894.

Elroy M. Avery, 1894.

George F. Bareis, 1900 to 1904.

G. Frederick Wright, 1904 to 1908.

Daniel J. Ryan, 1908; still serving.

* From 1894 to 1900, inclusive, no second vice president was elected.

Secretaries:

Albert A. Graham, 1885 to 1894.

Emilius O. Randall, 1894; still serving.

Associate Secretary:

Emilius O. Randall, 1893.

Treasurers:

Henry T. Chittenden, 1885 to 1887.

Samuel S. Rickly, 1887 to 1905. (Died November 22, 1905.)

Edwin F. Wood, 1906; still serving.

Assistant Treasurer:

Edwin F. Wood, 1894 to 1906.

Curators:

Warren K. Moorehead, 1894 to 1897.

Clarence Loveberry, 1897 to 1898.

William C. Mills, 1898; still serving.

TRUSTEES.

Elected by the Society.

(1885 to 1914)

Allen G. Thurman, 1885 to 1888.

Douglas Putnam, 1885 to 1888.

John W. Andrews, 1885 to 1888.

Henry B. Curtis, 1885. (Died November 5, 1885.)

Roeliff Brinkerhoff, 1885 to 1891; 1892 to 1911. (Died June 4, 1911.)

William P. Cutler, 1885 to 1890.

T. Ewing Miller, 1885 to 1886. (Resigned.)

William E. Moore, 1885 to 1899. (Died June 5, 1899.)

Norton S. Townshend, 1885 to 1895. (Died July 14, 1895.)

Henry T. Chittenden, 1885 to 1887.

Asahel W. Jones, 1885 to 1889.

Hylas Sabine, 1885 to 1889.

Henry A. Thompson, 1885 to 1913.

Israel W. Andrews, 1885 to 1888. (Died May 5, 1888.)

James S. Robinson, 1885 to 1889.

Francis C. Sessions, 1886 to 1892. (Died March 25, 1892.)

Charles J. Wetmore, 1886 to 1887.

- Ephriam C. Dawes, 1887 to 1895. (Died April 23, 1895.)
Charles C. Baldwin, 1887 to 1890.
John G. Doren, 1888 to 1891.
Samuel C. Derby, 1888 to 1891.
Rutherford B. Hayes, 1888 to 1891; 1892 to 1893. (Died January 17, 1893.)
Daniel J. Ryan, 1889; still serving; term expires 1916.
David K. Watson, 1889 to 1892.
Charles Townsend, 1889 to 1892.
Martin D. Follett, 1889 to 1907.
Israel Harris, 1890 to 1894.
G. Frederick Wright, 1890; still serving; term expires 1917.
Calvin S. Brice, 1891 to 1897.
Robert W. Steele, 1891. (Died September 24, 1891.)
Alfred R. McIntire, 1891 to 1894; 1897 to 1903. (Died September 21, 1903.)
George F. Bareis, 1891; still serving; term expires 1915.
Reuben E. Hills, 1892 to 1901; 1904 to 1911.
Charles Parrott, 1892 to 1904.
John Sherman, 1894 to 1900. (Died October 22, 1900.)
Samuel S. Rickly, 1894 to 1905. (Died November 22, 1905.)
Elroy M. Avery, 1894 to 1903.
Benjamin W. Arnett, 1894 to 1906.
John P. Peaslee, 1896 to 1899.
Arthur H. Smythe, 1896 to 1899.
Robert Clarke, 1899. (Died August 26, 1899.)
James H. Anderson, 1899 to 1908.
James Kilbourne, 1900 to 1908.
Samuel F. Hunt, 1900 to 1902.
William H. Hunter, 1901 to 1906. (Died June 20, 1906.)
John P. MacLean, 1901 to 1904.
Clement L. Martzoff, 1902 to 1911.
J. Warren Keifer, 1903 to 1912.
Rush R. Sloane, 1903 to 1908. (Died December 24, 1908.)
Edwin F. Wood, 1905; still serving; term expires 1915.
Isaac F. King, 1906 to 1909.
John H. Beal, 1906 to 1910.
Abraham J. Baughman, 1907 to 1913.

Albert Douglas, 1908 to 1911; 1913 to 1914. (Resigned.)
 William H. Rice, 1908 to 1910.
 Caleb H. Gallup, 1909; still serving; term expires 1915.
 Walter C. Metz, 1909 to 1912.
 Lewis P. Schaus, 1910; still serving; term expires 1916.
 Henri E. Buck, 1910 to 1914.
 William O. Thompson, 1910; still serving; term expires 1917.
 Francis W. Treadway, 1911; still serving; term expires 1915.
 Webb C. Hayes, 1911; still serving; term expires 1917.
 William C. Mills, 1911 to 1913.

NOTE—At the annual meeting held July 26, 1912, an amendment to the constitution of the Society was adopted, to the effect that, beginning with the year 1912, and each year thereafter, the Society should elect but three trustees instead of five, as had obtained previously, thus making the board of trustees fifteen, nine elected by the Society and six appointed by the Governor.

TRUSTEES.

*Appointed by the Governors.**

(1891 to 1914.)

Andrew C. Robeson, 1891 to 1900.
 Charles P. Griffin, 1891 to 1902. (Died December 18, 1902.)
 E. A. Lockwood, 1891 to 1893.
 Mathew C. Read, 1891 to 1893.
 William J. Gilmore, 1891 to 1896. (Died August 9, 1896.)
 Israel Williams, 1891 to 1901. (Died September 9, 1901.)
 Emilius O. Randall, 1893; still serving; term expires 1917.
 Josiah Hartzell, 1893 to 1894. (Resigned.)
 Arthur H. Smythe, 1894 to 1896.
 Alexander Boxwell, 1896 to 1899.
 George B. Wright, 1897 to 1903. (Died September 11, 1903.)
 Benjamin F. Prince, 1899; still serving; term expires 1917.
 Nathaniel B. C. Love, 1900 to 1912.
 Reuben E. Hills, 1901 to 1904.
 Martin R. Andrews, 1903 to 1913. (Died April 20, 1913.)

*These appointments by the governor were made in accordance with a joint resolution passed by the Sixty-ninth Ohio General Assembly, April 16, 1891.

John W. Harper, 1903; still serving; term expires 1915.

M. A. Greenough, 1904 to 1907.

Myron T. Herrick, 1907; still serving; term expires 1916.

John W. Yeagley, 1912; still serving; term expires 1915.

James E. Campbell, 1913; still serving; term expires 1916.

On May 31, 1911, at the annual meeting of the Society the constitution of the Society was amended, so as to provide that the Governor of the State shall be ex-officio a member of the board of trustees. Governors Judson Harmon and James M. Cox, therefore, have been such members of the board.



TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MAY 30, 1914.

The twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was held in the Trustees' room of the building of the Society, Columbus, Ohio, at 10 A. M., Saturday, May 30th (Memorial Day). The following members were present:

Mr. J. W. Harper,
Mr. D. H. Gard,
Mr. W. H. Scott,
Mr. F. W. Darby,
Mr. B. F. Prince,
Mr. Almer Hegler,
Mr. Calvin Young,
Mr. James E. Campbell,
Mr. E. O. Randall,
Mr. H. O. Whitaker,
Mr. Warren Cowen,
Mr. W. C. Mills,

Mr. E. F. Wood,
Mr. I. F. King,
Mr. E. H. Archer,
Mr. Chase Stewart,
Mr. B. D. Hills,
Mr. C. H. Gallup,
Mr. George F. Bareis,
Mr. G. F. Wright,
Mr. L. P. Schaus,
Mr. W. T. Hambridge,
Mr. J. S. Roof.

The meeting was called to order by President G. Frederick Wright, who made a few remarks, touching upon the good fortune of the Society in being able to hold for the first time its annual meeting in its own building. His address, suitable to the occasion, would be withheld until the dedicatory exercises, to be held in the afternoon.

Secretary Randall was then called upon for his annual report.

REPORT OF SECRETARY.

The last annual meeting of the Society was held on May 23rd, 1913. This report herewith submitted, therefore, covers the period from the latter date to the present day (May 30th).

The minutes of that meeting appear in full in the volume of the Society proceedings for 1913, and I will not read those proceedings in full, as they occupy 58 typewritten pages, but for the proceedings of that meeting refer to the condensed report as published in the October QUARTERLY, annual publication of the Society for 1913 (Volume 22), pages 455 to 469, inclusive.

Since the annual meeting of 1913, meetings of the Trustees, the Executive Committee, Building Committees and special committees, were held as follows:

July 15 (1913) at Page Hall, O. S. U., meeting of the Building Committee. Present, Messrs. Schaus, Mills, Bareis, Wright and Randall. At this meeting bids were received for the elevator, electric light fixtures, show cases, book cases and equipment for the rooms and offices in the Museum and Library Building, Columbus. There were 17 bidders,—three bids for the electric light fixtures, two bids for the show cases and the remainder on various articles of the general equipment for the library, museum rooms and administration rooms.

After duly considering the various bids the bid of the Post-Glover Electric Co., of \$1,929.15, was accepted. The bid of the Columbus Show Case Co., for 12 cases at \$160.00 each, and 38 table-cases at \$70.00 each, was accepted, making a total of \$4,580.00.

July 25th, meeting of the Executive Committee: Present, Messrs. Wright, Bareis, Buck, Douglas, Harper, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Schaus and Wood. This committee approved the acceptance of the two bids recommended by the previous meeting of the Building Committee, as above stated.

At this meeting the bid of the Safe Cabinet Co., of Marietta, for book stacks, tables, etc., amounting to \$3,772.70, was accepted. The matter of the elevator was referred to the Building Committee with power to act. Report was made on the progress of the Museum and Library Building, at Spiegel Grove. Col. Hayes had put in some \$12,000 of his own money, and had also stated that he would, when the building was ready for occupancy, place therein the paintings of his father and mother; he had also erected gateways, known as the Harrison and McPherson gateways. The Building Committee was authorized to receive bids for the lighting and equipment of the Museum and Library Building at Spiegel Grove.

Mr. Mills announced the intended visit, in September, 1914, of the International Society of Scientists, known as the Americanists. It was proposed that our State Society make plans for the reception of the Americanists, and Mr. Mills was authorized to make arrangements for the opening of a mound during their visit, that they might inspect the methods of exploration.

Messrs. Mills, Prince and Douglas were appointed a committee upon the proposed visitation of the Americanists.

The itemized bids for articles for the furnishing of the Museum and Library Building are given in full in the recorded minutes of the Society for 1913, beginning at page 178.

October 17 (1913) meeting of the Executive Committee at the office of Treasurer Wood. There were present Messrs. Wright, Campbell, Prince, Bareis, Mills, Harper, Schaus, Buck, Ryan, Randall and Wood. Curator Mills reported the removal of the museum and library from the former quarters of the Society in Page Hall to the new Museum and Library Building, and that the work of arranging and getting the Museum and Library in order was in progress. The building had not yet been entirely completed, nor formally accepted from the contractors by the Building Committee, or by the officers of the Society, but this occupancy of the building previous to its formal acceptance was mutually agreed upon, without prejudice to any of the parties interested, by the Dawson Construction Co., the contractors, the Ohio State University authorities and the officers of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. This action of the occupancy of the building was approved by the Executive Committee.

The Secretary reported that President Wright, Mr. Schaus and himself, representing the Society, had participated, on August 2nd, in the ceremonies at Fremont commemorative of the one hundredth anniversary of the siege of Ft. Stephenson. On this occasion the Harrison and McPherson gateways at Spiegel Grove were dedicated. The chief program of the day was in the city, at the grave of Col. Croghan. The ceremonies were very interesting and of fitting character. Speeches at the dedication of the gateways were made by Messrs. Wright and Randall. The address of the day, at the grave of Col. Croghan, was made by Congressman S. D. Fess. Addresses were made by General Warnock, State Commandant of the G. A. R., and others. Detailed proceedings of this anniversary ceremony will be found in January *QUARTERLY* (1914), *Volumbus* 23, page 1.

Mr. Mills reported that the Building Committee had decided to accept the bid of the Otis Elevator Co., for a freight elevator, at a cost of \$1,290.00; elevator to be run by electricity. This was approved by the Executive Committee.

Mr. Schaus, chairman of the Building Committee, made a report on the progress of the Museum and Library Building at Spiegel Grove; that the committee had inspected that building on October 9th and 10th; they reported progress on the building, with the probability that it would not be ready for occupancy before the spring of 1914. Mr. Schaus also reported the conclusion of the paving project on Cleveland and Buckland Avenues. The work in both instances had been satisfactorily done.

Mr. Schaus further reported that Col. Hayes had paid to Treasurer Wood, on September 12th, the sum of \$1,252.00, to make good the deficit in the building fund for the Hayes Memorial Building. The legislature (1913) had appropriated \$5,000.00 for certain alterations in

the plans. The alterations had cost \$6,252.00. Col. Hayes had, therefore, made himself responsible for the difference.

At this meeting the announcement was made of the death of Trustee and life member A. J. Baughman, of Mansfield, whose decease occurred on October 1, 1913. Notice of this loss to the Society will be found in the October *QUARTERLY* for 1913. President Wright represented the Society at the funeral services in Mansfield.

The election of these new life members was reported: A. M. Woolson, Toledo; Chase Stewart, Springfield; C. J. Forman, Oxford; Chas. A. Eicher, Miamisburg; Byron R. Long, Columbus; John Schirer, Springdale; L. D. Lampman, Columbus; Caleb H. Morris, Marion; W. L. Curry, Columbus.

President Wright brought before the meeting the proposition to secure proper legislation whereby the property of Ft. Meigs, now under the custody of the Maumee Valley Historical Society, can be transferred to the custodianship of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The matter was deferred for further consideration.

Mr. John Gill was appointed janitor of the new Society building; Miss Grace Harper, of Cincinnati, was employed as stenographer to the Curator and Librarian, and Miss Minnie L. Bushfield was appointed Assistant Librarian.

Two hundred dollars were appropriated for the purchase of books for the Library.

January 9th, 1914, meeting of the Board of Trustees, in the room of the Trustees, Society Building. Present, Messrs. Wright, Gallup, Prince, Harper, Wood, Bareis, Schaus, Randall, Ryan and Mills. Regrets at inability to attend were received from Messrs. Treadway, Thompson and Yeagley.

At this meeting the Secretary called attention to the fact that the Governor had called a special session of the legislature, to convene on January 19th. This legislature would repeal the appropriation bill passed in 1913, for the appropriation for the various departments for the year beginning February 15th, 1914, and each department of the state is asked to make a new estimate of financial necessities for the year mentioned. This new estimate goes to the Budget Commissioner, Mr. W. O. Heffernan, an officer appointed by the Governor under legislative act of 1913. The Budget Commissioner will supervise the estimates submitted to him, advise such action as he deems best in the diminution or increase, and confer concerning them with the finance committees of the incoming legislature.

It will be recalled that the Society asked of the legislature, for its expenditure in the bill for 1914:

Current expenses.....	\$11,800
Field work, Ft. Ancient, etc.....	3,300
Publications	4,000
Spiegel Grove	2,000

The Finance Committees of the House and Senate reduced those appropriations, and the following were allowed, in the bill for 1914, as passed by the legislature:

Current expenses.....	\$11,000
Field work, Ft. Ancient, etc.....	2,500
Publications	3,500
Spiegel Grove	1,800

In the original bill for 1914, also was inserted voluntarily, by the finance committee of the legislature, without solicitation by the Society, the sum of \$7,500 for the re-printing of the annual publications of the Society. This item, when the bill reached the Governor, was vetoed by him, under the impression that it represented a duplication of a previous appropriation.

Under the new change, viz., that this entire bill for 1914 will be repealed, and a new bill introduced and passed in its stead, the Finance Committee of the Society made out and submitted to the Budget Commissioner the following proposed items as requested for 1914:

Salaries	\$10,240
Supplies	2,875
Equipment	2,275
Contract or Open Order Service.....	6,240
Fixed charges and contributions.....	144
Total	<u>\$21,774</u>

Mr. Schaus, Chairman of the Building Committee, reported that the Columbus building was now completed, and there was due the contractors a balance of \$4,737.28, after the deduction of \$500 made in the settlement with the contractors because of some defects in the Terrazza floors. Upon the assurance of the Building Committee that the contractors, The Dawson Co., had otherwise properly fulfilled their obligations, payment of this amount was authorized. The bill of W. H. Conklin Co., of \$810.95, for illuminating, heating and gas fittings, was also authorized to be paid. Mr. Schaus reported that after paying the bills for the building and equipment that have been accepted, there still remained the sum of \$1,100 in the building fund unexpended, but which would be necessary for the completion of equipment and furnishing. The final balance due the

Architect, J. M. Bradford, of \$500 was ordered paid, this completing his entire fee of \$2,250.

Curator Mills was authorized to purchase two typewriters for the museum office, and to install a private telephone system, under the best terms that could be secured.

The Building Committee was authorized to purchase chairs for the auditorium room in the North basement of the building.

Curator Mills submitted a large prehistoric stone axe, perhaps the finest specimen of its kind in existence, presented to the society by John Schirer, of Springdale, Ohio. Mr. Schirer was made a life member of the Society, his membership fee (\$25.00) being remitted in lieu of his donation. Rev. Byron R. Long and Mr. L. D. Lampman, of Columbus, were elected life members of the Society, subject to the payment of the usual fee.

April 2d, 1914, meeting of the Executive Committee in the rooms of the Trustees, Society Building. Present, Messrs. Wright, Bareis, Harper, Buck, Randall, Schaus, Wood and Curator Mills.

The Secretary reported that on February 16th, the appropriation bill for 1914 passed the legislature, and the Society received therein the following appropriations. The tables herein given show the amounts asked by the Society and the amounts received.

	<i>Requested.</i>	<i>Received.</i>
Salaries	\$10,240	\$9,940
Supplies	2,875	2,275
Equipment	2,275	1,975
Contract or Open Order Service.....	6,240	3,000
Fixed charges and contributions.....	144	144

Contract or Open Order Service includes: Heat and light for Museum and Hayes Memorial Library buildings; express, freight and drayage; traveling expenses of Trustees; telephone rentals; repairs and up-keep of the various properties of the Society; sundry unclassified and contingent expenses; building of roadways and field work.

In the separate Sundry Bill, passed by the Legislature, at the request of the Finance Committees and many members of the Legislature, and with the approval of the Governor, the item of \$7,500 for "Reprinting volumes 1 to 21, inclusive, of the publications of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society," was inserted. That amount is, therefore, at the disposal of the Society. The books will be reprinted this summer.

There was also included in the Sundry Bill the item of \$1,500, "To provide for the publication of a history of Ohio in the Civil War. This amount to be expended under the direction of and by the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society."

In furtherance of this appropriation the Executive Committee appointed Col. W. L. Curry, as the proper party to proceed with the prepa-

ration of such history. It was also agreed that Col. Curry should have quarters in the Museum and Library Building, and every facility be afforded him by the Society for the furtherance of his work.

It was determined by the committee that the Museum and Library be kept open from 9 o'clock until 5 o'clock each week day, except Saturday, on which day the building is to be closed at 12 o'clock, noon.

Col. W. L. Curry was elected a life member, subject to the payment of the usual fee.

The time of the annual meeting and the dedication of the new building was fixed for May 30th (Memorial Day).

Secretary Randall reported that he had requested an opinion from Attorney General Hogan as to the status of the employes of the Society in relation to the requirements of the state civil service law. The Attorney General had reported that, although the Society received funds from the state for its maintenance, still the officers and employes of the Society "are in fact in the employ of a private corporation, organized under the laws of Ohio. These persons are not in the service of the state within the meaning of Section 1 of the civil service act. The laws of Ohio do not provide a method of appointing these employes or fixing their compensation. The officers and employes of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society do not, therefore, come within the provisions of the civil service act." A copy of said opinion will be found in the volume of minutes (1914) of the Society, page 19.

On May 18th, Governor Cox appointed as Trustees for the Society Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield, and Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus, these to succeed themselves and serve until the annual meeting in 1917.

On motion the Secretary's report was adopted and ordered to be printed in the proceedings of the Society.

The Chair: We will now hear the report of the Curator:

REPORT OF CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN.

During the year beginning with May 1st, 1913, ending April 30th, 1914, the time of the Curator and Librarian has been taken up for the most part with the transfer of the Museum and Library from Page Hall to the new building. The first transfer of storage material from Page Hall was made in August, 1913. The university authorities needed the room in Page Hall so badly that they were compelled to ask the Archæological and Historical Society to remove their storage collections and make room for the new improvements which had been planned to meet the demands for the opening of college in September. This transfer necessitated a second handling of all of the collections in the new building, and made double work. The Library was transferred first; this was begun in December and finished practically the middle of the month. By the end of the month the Curator's office was moved from Page Hall to the new building and the museum proper was transferred during the holiday week. Our time since the transfer of the Museum and Library

has been taken up wholly in arranging the collections and labeling them in the proper way. When this material was placed on display, we found that after all our rooms were entirely inadequate to accommodate our present collections; consequently it will be necessary for us to cast about in the very near future for an extension of our Museum.

At the present time the building is practically completed. The contractors, The Dawson Construction Co., turned over the keys of the building on the 1st of December, but the moving into the new building was under headway many weeks before that. In the removal, fortunately, every specimen has been accounted for and the public was deprived of viewing the Museum for only a few weeks.

I am thankful to the Trustees for the privilege of attending the Association of Museums, which was held the middle of May at Milwaukee and Chicago. After the close of the meeting at Milwaukee I visited the State Museum at Madison and spent an entire day looking over the collections in the Wisconsin Historical Society. Many courtesies were extended to me at the various Wisconsin Museums.

I spent a certain amount of time also at the Logan Museum, Beloit, Wis. The Beloit Museum is purely archæological and it certainly contains a great collection of prehistoric artifacts, collected in the state of Wisconsin. I also arranged with the various museums at Madison, Milwaukee and Beloit for exchange of archæological material, as we all know that Wisconsin is very rich in certain classes of artifacts, namely, copper implements and implements of quartzite.

During the year the Curator has been steadily at work upon the Archæological Atlas of Ohio, and I take great pleasure in placing the completed Atlas before you. This represents many years of labor and I feel that we are justified in the undertaking. You will recall that Col. Charles Whittlesey was the first to become interested in mapping out the mounds and earthworks in Ohio. He therefore prepared a map, which we now have in our library, and upon this map he placed all of the known monuments. The map was of unusual size, 12 x 14'. After this map was under headway the U. S. government prepared a smaller map and noted upon it all of the mounds and earthworks known at that time. In 1895 Mr. Warren K. Moorehead constructed for the Society a new archæological map. This was 6 x 6'. Following Mr. Moorehead's resignation in 1897, the Curator personally conducted an examination of the various counties in Ohio up to the present time. This has required 16 years of hard work. As a matter of course it did not take all of my time, but it was the spare time that I had from the administration of the Museum and Library, and now it is completed. I present it to you for your consideration. You will please note that we were able to find in the state of Ohio 3,513 mounds with 587 enclosures and earthworks, making a total of 4,100 visible earthworks in the state. On page 9 your attention is called to the map of the Indian trails and towns in Ohio. This data has been accumulating for a number of years and I

think for all intents and purposes this is perhaps the most comprehensive of any of the maps that has been produced up to the present time. On page 11 you will see the distribution of the mounds and earthworks in the state. Each dot represents a mound and each cross represents an earthwork. Consequently you can readily trace them and by a glance at the map you will readily see that the great centers of prehistoric civilization occupied the river valleys in Ohio.

Five hundred copies of this work have been bound in cloth and about the same number will be bound in paper. It will be for the members of the Society to direct its distribution.

At the November meeting of the Board of Trustees Miss Minnie L. Bushfield was appointed assistant to the librarian, but on account of sickness was unable to assume her duties until after the new year. Miss Grace Harper was elected stenographer to replace Miss Woodford, resigned. She assumed her duties on Nov. 1st, 1913. On Dec. 1st, Mr. John Gill was appointed janitor of the new building and assumed his duties at that time. Mr. Starling Eaton, who was janitor at Page Hall, was advanced to the position of superintendent of the new building, but we find that our limited number of employees makes it very strenuous for all concerned and we should have an extra janitor for the care of the grounds and the outside of the building during the summer, and all extra time he would be of service in the building. For all large buildings as our own, we find that we ought to have also an additional man as night watchman. We think that this should be provided for at the very earliest moment as our collections are becoming more valuable each year and it is absolutely necessary to have some one to see that no depredations are committed during the night time.

The matter of opening the Museum on Sunday was brought up at one of the meetings of the Executive Committee and was left over for future attention. I fully recommend that the Museum be opened on Sunday afternoon from 1 to 5. This will give everybody an opportunity to view the Museum and will make its collections available for the people of the city and state who are unable to come to the Museum at any other time. I find that in Milwaukee the museums are kept open until 9 o'clock as well as Sundays. I cannot quite see the wisdom of keeping our Museum open during the evening as yet, but if I do find that it would be expedient for such an action I will be glad to bring it before the Trustees for their consideration.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee the Curator was directed to commence a systematic canvass for life membership in the Society. The plans have all been perfected, but on account of the strenuous work incident to getting our collections in shape, and preparing for the dedication, this part of the program has been delayed until after the dedication and then if the Society wishes the work will progress rapidly.

I wish to call the attention of the members of the Society to the forthcoming visit of the International Congress of Americanists. The

program will be as follows: The meeting of the Congress will be held in Washington beginning on October 5th and closing on the 10th. At the close of the meeting in Washington the Congress will adjourn to Philadelphia; from there they will adjourn to New York; from New York to Boston and from there to Columbus. They will arrive Wednesday, the 15th, and the program is now printed by the International Congress as follows: "The delegates will be met at the train at 3 p. m. and escorted to the Museum. After an inspection of the Museum a dinner will be given at the Ohio Union. After the dinner the delegates will return to the Museum for a short session in the auditorium. The following day the delegates will visit mounds that have been selected for the purpose by the Museum. One of these will be shown in the process of exploration. The plan is to show the characteristics of the typical Ohio mound. The delegates will then return to Columbus in time for the train to Chicago. Now these are the important features of the International Congress, and it is certainly up to the Society to look to the welfare of these people as best they can. It occurs to me that we should keep up our end of the affair with dignity to ourselves, as well as having in mind the honor of our state.

I hope that the necessary committee to have charge of this affair will be appointed at this meeting, and I trust that it will be large enough so that certain features of the entertainment can be assigned to certain individuals with the knowledge that it will be carried out.

During the past year the Archæological Museum has had a number of additions, as follows:

Mr. Almer Hegler, of Washington C. H., has added many fine specimens to his collection of archæological material from Fayette county, including fine ceremonials, mortars, etc.

Mr. Wilber Stout, of Sciotoville, has increased his collection of Scioto county artifacts by a number of interesting specimens.

Mr. N. H. Young, of Laura, Ohio, donated a small local collection of archæological specimens.

Mr. T. J. Thorn, of Saxon, Meigs county, Ohio, donated a fine small collection typical of the archæology of that section, including a rare hematite pipe, ceremonials, etc.

Mr. T. A. Wolf, of Racine, Meigs county, donated several hematite specimens.

Mr. J. V. Parr, Willow Grove, Va., a small collection of stone relics.

Mr. Charles Murphy, Millersport, donated a small collection of Fairfield county stone and flint specimens.

Mr. James Lee, Carrollton, donated some slate gorgets, celts, etc.

Judge H. C. Millér, of Jackson, presented a series of flint scrapers typical of Jackson county.

Dr. W. H. Wagner, Portsmouth, presented a very fine banner-stone and an old land deed, signed by Van Buren.

Mr. George S. Turner, Columbus, presented a number of flint specimens and a small collection of fossils.

Mr. J. J. Jagger, of Mt. Gilead, presented a small collection of stone and flint implements, typical of Morrow county.

Mr. Lindsay Cremeans, Berlin Cross Roads, presented a collection of archæological specimens from Jackson county.

Some interesting relics of President Wm. H. Harrison were purchased from his heirs; they consist of a large arm chair, a platter, a spoon and a powder horn.

As a result of a trip to the Ohio river, in the interest of the Archæological Atlas, a number of specimens were collected by Mr. H. C. Shetrone and added to the collections.

The Museum removed some fine examples of rock pictures or petroglyphs, from a group on the Ohio river in Meigs county, and placed them on display.

During the year the number of books in the Library has increased from 5,376 to 5,943 bound volumes, making a total addition of 567. Last year the total addition was 527. Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Society, has deposited, temporarily for safe keeping in the Society's Library, his rare collection of books on Ohio history and the Northwest Territory. This collection consists of 530 volumes. This valuable collection is made available for the members of the Society.

I am under many obligations to the members of the Society for their helpful suggestions when coming into our new home. I trust that many more will feel it their duty at any time to come to me with any new ideas that may advance the Museum or Library in any way.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM C. MILLS.

On motion the report of the Curator was approved.

Treasurer E. F. Wood then read his report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 1ST, 1914.

RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand, May 1st, 1913.....	\$1,789 21
Life Membership Dues.....	150 00
Active Membership Dues.....	87 00
Books sold.....	101 37
Subscriptions	16 50
Webb C. Hayes for Building.....	1,252 00
Refunded by O. S. U.....	180 00
Refunded by L. P. Schaus.....	5 87
Interest	467 68

From State Treasurer:

Appropriation for Current Expenses.....	4,543 71
Appropriation for Publications.....	3,947 91
Appropriation for Field Work, Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and Spiegel Grove Park.....	60 00
Appropriation for Field Work, Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and Logan Elm Park.....	2,275 94
Appropriation for improvement for abutting property, Spiegel Grove Park.....	5,898 88
Appropriation for Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building.....	533 58
Appropriation for Care of Spiegel Grove Park and Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building.....	475 23
Appropriation for Building for Museum and Library....	1,368 29
Appropriation for Personal Service.....	1,128 33
Appropriation for Maintenance.....	195 91
Appropriation for Equipment.....	173 23
Appropriation for Open Order Service.....	192 00
Total	\$24,842 66

DISBURSEMENTS.

Improvement of abutting property, Spiegel Grove State Park.	\$5,898 88
Care of Spiegel Grove Park.....	475 25
Serpent Mound Park, Care and Improvements.....	321 65
Ft. Ancient, Care and Improvements.....	297 75
Big Bottom Park, Repairs.....	64 70
Logan Elm Park.....	73 60
Field Work.....	162 40
Postage	60 10
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	81 34
Expenses of Trustees and Committees.....	410 83
Telephone	15 80
Building for Museum and Library.....	1,366 64
Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building.....	1,655 58
Museum and Library.....	3,416 31
Salaries, three.....	3,641 65
Publications	4,002 22
Heat and Light.....	9 45
Supplies	49 98
Library Equipment.....	90 13
Building Repair.....	22 33
Auditing and Clerk Hire.....	85 00
Premium on Treasurer's Bond.....	15 00
Incidental Expenses.....	23 05

Transferred to Permanent Fund.....	620 00
Balance on hand, May 1st, 1914.....	1,983 02

Total	\$24,842 66
Amount of Permanent Fund, May 1st, 1914.....	\$9,440 00

Respectfully submitted,

E. F. Wood,
Treasurer."

The report of the Auditor was then called for. Said report is as follows:

"COLUMBUS, OHIO, May 27, 1914.

"The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society,

HON. E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary, Columbus, Ohio.*

DEAR SIR:—We beg to submit this, the report of our annual examination of the books of your Treasurer, Mr. E. F. Wood, and submit herewith the following statements, setting forth the financial transactions for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1914, and the financial condition of your Society at that date:

Page 1, trial balance as at April 30th, 1914.

Page 2, Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the fiscal year.

Page 3, Schedule of Disbursements classified according to State Budget requirements.

Page 4, Statement of Appropriations for the year.

Page 5, Schedule of Expenditures from Building Appropriations other than through Treasurer's Cash Account.

Page 6, Schedule of unpaid salaries at April 30th.

We have verified the cash balance as herein reported, by comparison and reconciliation with the balance as shown by the bank pass book. The balances of appropriations are supported by a statement from the State Auditor's office. The certificate of deposit representing the Permanent Fund has been examined by us and found to be on hand as stated. All disbursements from the Treasurer's Fund have been by check signed by the President or Vice-President and Secretary of the Society.

We offer the above-mentioned statement of disbursements, classified according to State Budget requirements, in the hope that it will be of material value in the preparation of your budget for next year.

The books of the Treasurer are in good condition and properly set forth the financial condition as herein stated.

Very respectfully submitted,

J. J. McKNIGHT,
Certified Public Accountant.

ITEMIZED STATEMENT OF AUDITOR. THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TRIAL BALANCE—April 30, 1914.

	<i>Dr.</i>	<i>Cr.</i>
State Treasurer	\$33,419 30	
Appropriations:		
For Personal Service.....		\$8,811 67
For Maintenance		2,079 09
For Field Work—Fort Ancient, Serpent Mound and Logan Elm Park.....		224 06
For Equipment—E-9		1,801 77
For Fixed Charges—G—Insurance.....		144 00
For Building for Museum and Library Purposes		177 51
For Equipment and Walks for Building for Museum and Library.....		124 92
For Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building		16,073 43
For Care Spiegel Grove Park and Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building		1,174 75
For Open Order Service—F.....		2,808 00
Cash		1,083 02
E. F. Wood, Treasurer.....	1,983 02	
Investments	9,440 00	
Permanent Fund		9,440 00
	\$44,842 22	\$44,842 22

SUMMARY OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

(Current Funds.)

FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1914.

	<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>Disburse- ments.</i>
Balance—May 1, 1913.....	\$1,789 21	

RECEIPTS.

Life Membership Dues.....	\$150 00
Active Membership Dues.....	87 00
Subscriptions	16 50
Books Sold	101 37
Interest	467 68

Webb C. Hayes—Balance Extra Contract for Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building....	1,252 00
Refunds:	
Ohio State University.....	180 00
L. P. Schaus.....	5 87
Total	\$2,260 42
State Treasurer from Appropriations:	
For Building for Museum and Library	1,135 91
For Improvement of Property Abutting Spiegel Grove Park	5,898 88
For Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building	533 58
For Field Work—Fort Ancient, Spiegel Grove and Serpent Mound	60 00
For Field Work—Fort Ancient, Serpent Mound and Logan Elm Park	2,275 94
For Equipment and Walks for Building for Museum and Library	292 38
For Equipment—E-9	173 23
For Maintenance	195 91
For Care Spiegel Grove Park...	475 25
For Personal Service.....	1,125 33
For Open Order Service.....	192 00
For Publications	3,947 91
For Current Expenses	4,543 71
	\$23,053 45

DISBURSEMENTS.

Transferred to Permanent Fund.....	620 00
Building for Museum and Library...	1,366 64
Improvement of Property Abutting Spiegel Grove Park	5,898 88
Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building	1,655 58
Field Work—Ft. Ancient, Spiegel Grove Park and Serpent Mound.	162 40
Library Equipment (Books).....	90 13
Fort Ancient	297 75
Serpent Mound	321 65

Spiegel Grove Park.....	475 25		
Logan Elm Park.....	73 60		
Big Bottom Park.....	64 70		
Building Repairs and Upkeep.....	22 33		
Supplies	49 98		
Museum and Library.....	3,416 31		
Heat and Light	9 45		
Telephone Rentals	15 80		
Salary	3,641 65		
Expense of Trustees and Committees.	410 83		
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	81 34		
Postage	60 10		
Sundry Expenses	123 05		
Publications	4,002 22		
Balance — April 30, 1914.....		\$22,859 64	
		1,983 02	
		\$24,842 66	\$24,842 66
Capital City Bank (Per Pass Book)	\$1,078 07		
Add — Voucher No. 1288 May 9th....	4 95		
	\$1,983 02		

BUDGET CLASSIFICATIONS OF DISBURSEMENTS FOR
FISCAL YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1914.

<i>Account.</i>	<i>A-1 Salaries.</i>	<i>C-4 Supplies. (Office.)</i>	<i>C-11 Gen. Plant Supplies.</i>
Fort Ancient	\$287 50		
Museum and Library.....	3,042 50		\$100 00
Publications			4,002 22
Postage		\$60 10	
Sundry Expenses		6 65	
Salaries	3,641 65		
Serpent Mound	230 00		
Supplies			49 98
	\$7,201 65	\$66 75	\$4,152 56
<i>Account.</i>	<i>E-9 Gen. Plant Equipment.</i>	<i>F-1 General Repairs</i>	<i>F-3 Water.</i>
Big Bottom Park.....	\$30. 60	\$14 10	
Field Work	149 26		
Fort Ancient		2 25	
Museum and Library.....	188 25	17 00	\$26 56

Serpent Mound	85 65	
Spiegel Grove Park.....	399 25	36 00
Logan Elm Park.....	73 60	
Library Equipment	90 13	
Building Repairs and Upkeep.....	22 33	
	\$458 23	\$614 18 \$62 56

<i>Account.</i>	<i>F-4 Light and Heat.</i>	<i>F-6 Transpor- tation.</i>	<i>F-7 Communica- tion.</i>
Big Bottom Park.....		\$20 00	
Express, Freight and Drayage.....		81 34	
Expenses of Trustees and Committees.		410 83	
Field Work.....		13 15	
Fort Ancient			\$8 00
Museum and Library.....		20 64	31 00
Sundry Expenses		4 00	1 90
Serpent Mound			6 00
Spiegel Grove Park.....		40 00	
Telephone Rentals			15 80
Heat and Light.....	\$9 45		
	\$9 45	\$589 96	\$52 70

<i>Account.</i>	<i>F-9 Contin- gencies.</i>	<i>F-10 Construct. and Better- ments.</i>	<i>G-2 Insurance</i>
Improvement of Property Abutting Spiegel Grove Park.....		\$5,898 88	
Sundry Expenses	\$110 50		
Building for Museum and Library.....		1,366 64	
Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building		1,655 58	
	\$110 50	\$8,921 10	

RECAPITULATION.

<i>Account.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Big Bottom Park.....	\$64 70
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	81 34
Expenses of Trustees and Committees.....	410 83
Field Work	162 40
Fort Ancient	297 75
Improvement of Property Abutting Spiegel Grove Park.....	5,898 88
Museum and Library.....	3,416 31

Publications	4,002 22
Postage	60 10
Sundry Expenses	123 05
Salaries	3,641 65
Serpent Mound	321 65
Spiegel Grove Park.....	475 25
Telephone Rentals	15 80
Building for Museum and Library.....	1,366 64
Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building.....	1,655 58
Logan Elm Park.....	73 60
Heat and Light.....	9 45
Supplies	49 98
Library Equipment	90 13
Building Repairs and Upkeep.....	22 33
	\$22,239 64

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR
ENDING APRIL 30th, 1914.

<i>Appropriation for</i>	<i>Balance May 1, 1913.</i>	<i>Additional Appropriations dur- ing year.</i>	<i>Total Appropriations.</i>
Current Expenses	\$1,543 71	\$3,000 00	\$4,543 71
Publications	1,685 31	2,300 00	3,985 31
Field Work—Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and Spiegel Grove Park	65 28		65 28
Building for Museum and Library..	36,782 65		36,782 65
Hayes Commemorative Library....	29,268 46	5,000 00	34,268 46
Improvement of property abutting Spiegel Grove Park.....	5,898 88		5,898 88
Equipment and Walks for Building for Museum and Library.....		10,000 00	10,000 00
Care Spiegel Grove Park and Hayes Commemorative Library		1,650 00	1,650 00
Personal Service A-1.....		9,940 00	9,940 00
Maintenance C.....		2,275 00	2,275 00
Equipment E-9		1,975 00	1,975 00
Open Order Service F.....		3,000 00	3,000 00
Insurance G-2		144 00	144 00
Field Work, Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and Logan Elm Park..		2,500 00	2,500 00
	\$75,244 29	\$41,784 00	\$117,028 29

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR END-
ING APRIL 30, 1914.

CONTINUED.

<i>Appropriation for</i>	<i>Amount Lapsed During Year.</i>	<i>Cash Drawn from State Treasurer.</i>	<i>Paid on Committees' Estimates.</i>
Current Expenses		\$4,543 71	
Publications	\$337 40	3,947 91	
Field Work—Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and Spiegel Grove Park	5 28	40 00	
Building for Museum and Library..		1,135 91	\$35,469 23
Hayes Commemorative Library.....		533 58	17,661 45
Improvement of Property Abutting Spiegel Grove Park.....		5,898 88	
Equipment and Walks for Building for Museum and Library.....		232 38	9,642 70
Care Spiegel Grove Park and Hayes Commemorative Library		475 25	
Personal Service A-1.....		1,128 33	
Maintenance C.....		195 91	
Equipment E-9		173 23	
Open Order Service F.....		192 00	
Insurance G-2.....			
Field Work—Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and Logan Elm Park...		2,275 94	
	\$42 68	\$20,793 03	\$62,773 38

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR END-
ING APRIL 30, 1914.

CONTINUED.

<i>Appropriation for</i>	<i>Total Withdrawals.</i>	<i>Balance April 30, '14.</i>
Current Expenses	\$4,543 71	
Publications	3,985 31	
Field Work—Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and Spiegel Grove Park.....	65 28	
Building for Museum and Library.....	35,605 14	\$177 51
Hayes Commemorative Library	18,195 03	16,073 43
Improvement of Property Abutting Spiegel Grove Park	5,898 88	
Equipment and Walks for Building for Museum and Library	9,875 08	124 92

Care Spiegel Grove Park and Hayes Com-		
memorative Library	475 25	1,174 75
Personal Service A-1.....	1,128 33	8,811 67
Maintenance C	195 91	2,079 09
Equipment E-9	173 23	1,801 77
Open Order Service F.....	192 00	2,808 00
Insurance G-2		144 00
Field Work—Ft. Ancient, Serpent Mound and		
Logan Elm Park.....	2,275 94	224 06
	\$83,609 09	33,419 20

RECAPITULATION TOTALS.

Total Balances May 1, 1913.....	\$75,244 29	
Additional Appropriations During Year.....	41,784 00	
Total Appropriations		\$117,028 29
Amount Lapsed During Year.....	42 68	
Cash Drawn from State Treasurer.....	20,793 03	
Paid on Committees' Estimates.....	62,773 38	
Total Withdrawals		\$83,609 09
Total Balance April 30, 1914.....		\$33,419 20

SCHEDULE OF EXPENDITURES FROM BUILDING APPROPRIATIONS OTHER THAN THROUGH TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT.

FROM APPROPRIATION FOR BUILDING FOR MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

1913

May 5 Estimate No. 16 Building Committee..	\$1,282 50
May 5 Estimate No. 3 Conklin Contract	1,425 00
May 17 Estimate No. 17 Building Committee..	1,140 00
June 5 Estimate No. 18 Building Committee..	2,774 00
June 17 Estimate No. 19 Building Committee..	2,860 45
July 1 Estimate No. 20 Building Committee..	950 00
July 23 Estimate No. 21 Building Committee..	2,389 25
Aug. 1 Estimate No. 22 Building Committee..	1,946 55
Aug. 1 Estimate No. 23 Building Committee..	1,425 00
Aug. 1 Estimate No. 4 Conklin Contract	1,985 50
Aug. 20 Estimate No. 24 Building Committee..	1,244 50
Sept. 5 Estimate No. 25 Building Committee..	1,978 85
Sept. 22 Estimate No. 26 Building Committee..	1,045 00
Oct. 8 Estimate No. 27 Building Committee..	2,131 80
Oct. 14 Estimate No. 5 Conklin Contract.....	1,843 00
Nov. 28 Estimate No. 28 Building Committee..	1,690 05

1914

Jan. 10 Estimate No. 6 Conklin Contract	810 95	
Jan. 10 Estimate No. 1 McKeever Contract ..	580 00	
Jan. 10 Estimate No. 29 Building Committee..	4,037 68	
Mch. 1 Estimate No. 1 Post Glover Electric Co.	1,929 15	
		\$35,469 23

FROM APPROPRIATION FOR EQUIPMENT AND WALKS FOR BUILDING FOR
MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

1914

Jan. 10 Estimate No. 1 Safe Cabinet Company	2,805 50	
Jan. 10 Estimate No. 1 Safe Cabinet Company	967 20	
Jan. 10 Estimate No. 1 Otis Elevator Company	1,290 00	
Jan. 10 Estimate No. 1 Columbus Show Case Company	2,660 00	
Jan. 10 Estimate No. 1 Columbus Show Case Company	1,920 00	
		\$9,642 70

FROM APPROPRIATION FOR THE HAYES COMMEMORATIVE LIBRARY AND
MUSEUM BUILDING.

1913.

Jan. 17 Estimate No. 3 Building Committee..	7,444 20	
Aug. 20 Estimate No. 4 Building Committee..	6,284 25	
Nov. 5 Estimate No. 5 Building Committee..	2,375 00	
1914.		
Jan. 27 Estimate No. 6 Building Committee..	1,558 00	17,661 45
Grand Total		\$62,773 38

SCHEDULE OF UNPAID SALARIES AT APRIL 30, 1914.

E. F. Wood, one-half month.....	12 50	
W. C. Mills, one-half month.....	104 17	
H. C. Shetrone, one-half month.....	50 00	
E. O. Randall, one-half month.....	\$41 66	
S. Eaton, one-half month.....	32 50	
Jno. Gill, one-half month	25 00	
Grace Harper, one-half month.....	25 00	
Minnie Bushfield, one-half month.....	30 00	
W. Cowan, one-half month.....	12 50	
D. Wallace, one-half month.....	10 00	
Total		\$343 33

On motion the reports of the Treasurer and Auditor were approved.

Mr. L. P. Schaus, Chairman of the Committee on Spiegel Grove, reported as follows:

That on the 27th of April (1914), in company with President Wright, Mr. Mills and Col. Hayes, he visited Spiegel Grove and reviewed the condition of the building. The progress has not been very rapid, there has been much delay during the winter, owing to the illness of the contractor, Mr. Steinle. We found that the material to be used in the building is now all on the ground, and the contractor promises that the building will be completed June 15th; that, however, seems improbable under the circumstances, but the building ought to be ready for occupancy the latter part of July. Contracts have been let for the fixing of the roads to the grounds, especially surrounding this new building, the cost not to exceed \$900.00. This work is going on at the present time.

On motion the report was accepted.

Mr. B. F. Prince, Chairman of the Committee on Ft. Ancient, reported that he had visited the fort several times during the past year, and that the condition of the fort, under the care of Mr. Warren Cowen, was in general all that could be desired. There was one serious trouble, viz., the sliding of the ground of the embankment outside the walls of the fort in one or two places, particularly at the northwest corner. The slides were occasioned by the wet weather of the last year, particularly during the period of the floods.

Warren Cowen, custodian of the fort, being present, supplemented Mr. Prince's remarks, saying he did not regard the slide of quite so serious a nature, and thought that in any event methods might be followed to prevent any further danger from that direction. Mr. Cowen suggested that one good way of protecting the embankments and preventing slides was the planting of trees on the embankments, outside the walls, where there was likely to be any slides. This whole matter was finally referred to the incoming Committee on Fort Ancient.

Prof. Mills made a report for the committee on Serpent Mound.

Mr. J. S. Roof made a report on Logan Elm Park.

In the absence of Prof. Martzloff, of the Big Bottom Park Committee, Secretary Randall stated that he had had reports from Prof. Martzloff to the effect that the flood a year ago last spring had overflowed the banks of the Muskingum, carried away the front fence to the park, and also overflowed and partially filled up and caused depressions in the grounds of the park itself, around the monument. Moreover, the county commissioners have determined to change the location of the road, which now runs between the river and the monument, and have this road back of the park. That will probably be done in the near future.

Mr. L. P. Schaus being called upon for report as Chairman of the Columbus Building Committee, reported that the building had been completed, accepted by the Trustees, and paid for. He would make a formal report as Chairman of the Committee during the exercises of dedication.

There were some unavoidable delays for want of necessary material, but the building was finally completed almost on time, as required by the terms of the contract. The building was accepted from the contractors and settlement made on January 9th, 1914. A detailed account of the various transactions required in the construction of this building will be given by Prof. Mills, Secretary of the Building Committee.

This completed the reports of the officers and committees.

Secretary Randall reported that, under the amendment to the constitution, passed at the annual meeting two years ago, the number of trustees elected by the Society each year was reduced from five to three, making the total number elected by the Society nine instead of fifteen. The purpose of that amendment was to reduce the number of trustees to a working force, and bring them all into an active and personal participation in the meetings of the board and thus do away with the executive committee. Under amendments now proposed Sections 1 and 2 of Article II, on membership, will be changed, and Sections 2 and 5 of Article III, regarding the officers will be changed, and Section 3 of that Article (III), shall be left out entirely. Section 1 of Article V shall be changed as to the authority to determine the time of the annual meeting. Also Section 1 of Ar-

ticle VI will be changed to conform to the changes made in the other sections.

The Sections and Articles in question, after being changed, will then read as follows:

ARTICLE II.

MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this Society shall be divided into three classes, designated as follows: Life Members, Active Members, and Honorary Members. Application for membership shall be made to the Secretary of the Society. Upon the approval of the Society or Board of Trustees and the payment of the annual fee, such applicants shall be declared members.

SECTION 2. The payment at any one time of twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) to the Society shall constitute the person so paying a life member. Life members shall be exempt from all further dues, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of active membership. Any person who shall make a donation to the Society, the value of which shall be determined by the Trustees to be not less than twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) shall be entitled to life membership. Said life membership payments shall constitute a permanent fund to be invested at the discretion of the Trustees. The income only of this fund to be used by the Society for such purposes as the Trustees may direct.

ARTICLE III.

GOVERNMENT.

SECTION 2. The Board of Trustees shall elect a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, a Curator, and a Librarian, and such other officers or agents as the proper management of the Society may require.

(Section 3 of this Article is hereby repealed; Section 4 becomes Section 3, and reads as follows:)

SECTION 3. The Trustees may appoint such committees as may from time to time be required.

(Section 5 of this Article becomes Section 4, and is amended to read as follows:)

SECTION 5. The Trustees shall fix the tenure of office and compensation of all officers and agents and may remove the same whenever the interests of the Society may demand.

(Section 6 of this Article becomes Section 5.)

ARTICLE V.

MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. The fiscal year of the Society shall end May 1, and the annual meeting shall be held at Columbus within thirty days thereafter at the discretion of the President and Secretary. Due notice of the meeting shall be mailed by the Secretary to all members of the Society at least ten days before such annual meeting is held.

ARTICLE VI.

LIABILITIES.

SECTION 1. No debts shall be contracted by the Society, nor by any of its members, officers or agents, in its behalf, except by a vote of a majority of the Board of Trustees.

* * * *

After proper discussion, and on motion, the proposed amendments to the constitution were all adopted, without an opposing vote.

Dr. E. H. Gard, a charter member of the Society, addressed the meeting with interesting personal recollections of the beginnings of the Society, and its incorporation on March 13, 1885. He then presented to the Society an enlarged photograph of the Articles of Incorporation, as filed in the office of the Secretary of State, and including the autographs of all the charter members.

On motion of D. J. Ryan the gift was accepted, and the thanks of the Society extended to Dr. Gard for the same.

Mr. Ryan further moved that the surviving charter members, who are not now also life members, be made life members. These gentlemen proved to be Captain Alexis Cope, of Columbus, Hon. A. W. Jones, of Burg Hill, Gen. E. B. Finley, of Bucyrus, Prof. S. C. Derby, of Columbus, and Beman Gates (address unknown). All were duly elected, as proposed.

President Wright appointed Messrs. Prince, Archer and Ryan to nominate three trustees, who would succeed the following five retiring trustees: Messrs. G. F. Wright, H. E. Buck, Webb C. Hayes, W. O. Thompson and F. W. Treadway. This committee retired, and after due consideration reported to the meeting that, while it was to be regretted that all five could not be rechosen, they had selected as nominees G. F. Wright,

W. O. Thompson and Webb C. Hayes. These three were then formally elected as trustees, to serve until 1917.

Secretary Randall then reported that on May 18th., Governor Cox appointed as trustees to serve three years, until February, 1917, B. F. Prince, Springfield, and E. O. Randall, Columbus, both to succeed themselves.

President Wright presented to the museum, for preservation, a flint implement discovered twenty years ago by Mr. Sam Huston, in the glacial gravels at Brilliant, Ohio; such implement supposed to be evidence of the existence of man in America during the glacial period. This implement was transferred to the Society by Mr. J. H. Huston, surviving son of Samuel Huston. Upon motion and vote Mr. J. H. Huston was made a life member of the Society, which accepted the specimen in lieu of the payment of the customary life-membership fee.

Rev. I. F. King proposed Prof. Samuel W. Williams, of Wyoming, O., as a life member, in view of the fact that Prof. Williams offers to donate his library to the Society. Mr. Williams was a son of the private secretary to Governor Tiffin. By vote Mr. Williams was elected a life member as proposed.

Prof. Wright spoke of the remains of the serpent mound in Warren county, a companion prehistoric relic to the serpent mound of Adams county. He thought it ought to be secured by the Society and restored and preserved before it was too late. He suggested the property on which it is located be purchased by the Society. This matter was referred to the Trustees for further consideration.

At this point the annual meeting adjourned for lunch.

In accordance with the election of trustees, held above, the personnel of the trusteeship, now completed, is as follows: .

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1915.

Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester.
Mr. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk.
Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus.

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1916.

Hon. F. W. Treadway, Cleveland.
Hon. D. J. Ryan, Columbus.
Hon. L. P. Schaus, Mt. Vernon.

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1917.

Col. Webb C. Hayes, Fremont.
Dr. W. O. Thompson, Columbus.
Dr. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin.

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

Hon. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati, 1915.
Hon. J. W. Yeagley, New Philadelphia, 1915.
Hon. James E. Campbell, Columbus, 1916.
Hon. Myron T. Herrick, Cleveland, 1916.
Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield, 1917.
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus, 1917.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

SOCIETY BUILDING, JUNE 29, 1914.

The annual meeting of the trustees of the Society was held on June 29th., instead of the date of the annual meeting of the Society, because of lack of time on above-named date, (May 30,) the dedicatory exercises immediately following the proceedings of the annual meeting.

There were present at this meeting of the trustees, Messrs. Bareis, Harper, Hayes, Schaus, Prince, Wright, Ryan, Campbell, Wood, Randall, Gallup. Absent, Messrs. Herrick, Douglas, Thompson and Yeagley.

Prof. Wright stated that, in accordance with his appointment by the Trustees as a committee of one for such purpose, he had conferred with Mr. Thomas Nelson, Washington, D. C., concerning the transfer of Mr. Nelson's historical and genealogical collection of references to the Ohio Society. Mr. Nelson is one of the assistant editors of the *Records of the Past*, published at Washington, D. C., and is a professional historian and antiquarian. He was present at the meeting of the Trustees, and was called upon for a statement of his proposition. At some length he set forth the extent and value of his collections of data concerning the leading characters in American history. These references were collected on cards, nearly a million in number, supplemented by a library of between seven and eight hundred volumes. Mr. Nelson stated the conditions upon which he desired to transfer this collection to the Ohio Society. The mat-

ter was disposed of by a motion requesting Prof. Wright to appoint a committee of five, of which he (Wright) should be chairman. Prof. Wright named as his confreres on the committee Messrs. Campbell, Ryan, Hayes and Randall.

Secretary Randall reported that Mr. Albert Douglas, a trustee whose term would expire in 1916, had removed from Chillicothe, Ohio, to Washington, D. C., and as such removal would prevent his further filling the duties of trusteeship, he had resigned from the same. It was therefore incumbent upon the trustees to elect his successor, to serve until the next annual meeting. Mr. Francis W. Treadway, of Cleveland, was elected to such vacancy.

The trustees then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year. The election, in due formality, resulted as follows:

President, G. Frederick Wright; First Vice President, George F. Bareis; Second Vice President, Daniel J. Ryan; Secretary and Editor, E. O. Randall; Treasurer, E. F. Wood; Curator, W. C. Mills. Mr. Mills was also authorized to act as librarian until further action by the board.

The compensation of the salaried officers of the Society was then stipulated as follows:

Curator, \$2,500.00; Mr. H. C. Shetrone, assistant in the Curator's office, \$1,300.00; Miss Grace Harper, library stenographer, \$700.00; Mr. Starling Eaton, Superintendent of the Building, \$880.00; Miss Minnie Bushfield, assistant to the Librarian, \$820.00; Janitor, to be chosen, as Mr. Gill, present incumbent, has resigned, \$600. The salaries of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary (should one be chosen) were referred to the Finance Committee for adjustment. The salary of Treasurer E. F. Wood was fixed at \$35.00 per month, with the understanding that it would cover any assistance which the Treasurer might need. The compensation of the custodians of the various properties of the Society was left for subsequent action by the Board. The matter of salaries for the librarian and other compensated officers to be chosen for Spiegel Grove was referred to the Finance Committee.

Secretary Randall reported that the amount appropriated by the legislature for the annual publication had been reduced to \$1,880, as against \$3,300, the amount received in previous years. He reported that the archaeological atlas which had been in process of completion by Mr. Mills for some years, was now finally published, the cost of which had been \$960.00, and would have to be paid out of the annual publication fund.

President Wright appointed the following standing committees:

Finance: Messrs. Campbell, Wood, Ryan and Bareis.

Publication: Messrs. Ryan, Wood and Randall.

Museum: Messrs. Mills, Bareis and Schaus.

Spiegel Grove: Messrs. Schaus, Hayes, Wright, Bareis and Mills.

Serpent Mound: Messrs. Archer, Mills and Harper.

Fort Ancient: Messrs. Prince, Bareis and Randall.

Logan Elm Park: Mr. Tallmadge, Mrs. Jones and Mr. Roof.

Logan Elm Park: Mrs. Jones, Messrs. Roof and Tallmadge.

Big Bottom Park: Messrs. Martzloff and Bozman.

Necrology: Messrs. Bareis, Mills and Gallup.



ARCHÆOLOGICAL MAP OF OHIO.

The accompanying map of Ohio, showing the distribution of prehistoric Mounds and Enclosures in the state, is reproduced on a reduced scale from the Archaeological Atlas of Ohio. This map will be of special interest to the public, as it shows at a glance the centers of occupation and the relative distribution of prehistoric man in the territory included.

The valleys of the larger rivers—the Miamis, the Scioto, the Muskingum, the Hocking, and their various tributaries, were the principal localities of a more or less permanent and numerous population. The relative sparseness of earthworks in the north-western and eastern portions of the state, is due to topographical conditions—the former being too swampy and the latter too rough and broken to invite extensive primitive settlement.

The great center of population in the Miami Valley was Butler County, with 221 mounds and 24 enclosures recorded. In the Scioto valley, the central portion, including the counties of Ross, Pickaway and Franklin, was most favored by the aboriginal Ohio peoples, this section containing more earthworks than any other similar area in the state. Ross county has 370 mounds and 49 enclosures recorded; Pickaway has 173 mounds and 33 enclosures, and Franklin has 132 mounds and 28 enclosures, making a total of 785 earthworks for the three counties.

Ross county has the distinction of containing the most highly specialized types of earthworks, and as exploration shows, the territory within that county was the seat of the highest development of aboriginal man in Ohio.

The territory comprised in Licking county appears to have been the great center of population of the Muskingum river and its tributaries. This perhaps is due in great measure to the development of the important flint quarries in south-eastern Licking county.

As a rule, the important water courses determined the settlement of aboriginal peoples in the state, but occasionally special inducements diverted their activities to sections otherwise less attractive. This is illustrated to some extent in Licking county, where the flint quarries were the inducement, and particularly in Jackson county, where the abundance of salt attracted an important movement into that region.



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